

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fifth Year of Issue

January, 1946

Japanese Canadians

EDITH FOWKE



Socialist International

ROBERT ALEXANDER



In Defense of Liberalism

DESMOND PACEY



Blueprint for the
Redman

HAZEL A. ROBINSON

Nothing Was Too Good
for the Veterans

SAMUEL RODDAN

Vol. XXV, No. 300

Toronto, Ontario, January, 1946

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O CANADA

During an interview at Hotel Vancouver this morning, Brigadier Mann was asked whether civilians are just being panicky when they express fears that another war would doom civilization, and perhaps even mankind.

"Personally I don't believe it matters much whether one is killed by a bullet or an explosion. Our Christian belief is that there's a better world just around the corner," he said. (Vancouver Sun)

If the strikers have no money to buy food or pay rent, they can always get it by going back to work. Healthy wages are paid in the automobile industry, wages which enable workers' families to live in better than decent comfort. This money is now going begging because the union men refuse to work. Before Mayor Rheame digs into the city coffers he should canvass the possibility of getting the men back to work. (Montreal Star, quoted in the Toronto Telegram)

Sir Allen Aylesworth (L., Ont.), second oldest member of the Senate, today celebrated his 91st birthday and received congratulations from his colleagues in the Upper Chamber. As Senators applauded, Sir Allen said he had been "mercifully protected" by the infirmity of hearing, but he had heard some of the remarks. (Globe and Mail)

The West Window by L. P. Hartley . . . While by no means important reading nor a book that the majority of book buyers will line up to purchase, it will prove an easily sold item. Should appeal to elderly ladies, the British element of our population and libraries. (Bookseller & Stationer)

H.R.H. Princess Alice is deep in the midst of her Christmas shopping. For the last three days, accompanied by her secretary . . . the dainty little chatelaine of Government House has been creating interest as she went, unrecognized by most people, from shop to shop, getting gifts for her family and her household. Considerable time was spent admiring a shipment of Oriental rugs recently received, but none was purchased, the Royal visitor spending her money on more personal and necessary articles such as food and clothing. (Globe and Mail)

They're Utterly Mad, 'n' Completely Marvellous! Our Shaggy Lambs. Fantastically fluffy balls of color! You won't be able to believe your eyes when you see them—(we couldn't believe ours). Just sink your toes into a pair . . . see how they pouf and foam up around your ankle in clouds of soft lamb's wool! In white, vivid blue or gentle pink. Sizes 4 to 8 in the group. Pair \$8.50. (Advertisement, Toronto Star)

Slowing up for heavy traffic . . . the other day, gave the writer the opportunity to observe . . . an elderly gentleman leisurely taking his "constitutional." Just at that moment a window-cleaner dropped his cloth from the top of his ladder. As he turned to go down, the gentleman stopped, took in the situation, and, stooping, retrieved the cloth with his cane, and passed it up to the workman with a friendly smile and a word. We thought a capitalist and laborer relationship of that sort might eliminate strikes! (J.M.K. in Globe and Mail)

Montreal, Nov. 30 (CP)—The current housing shortage here has forced 192 persons, 152 of them children, to establish temporary homes in Montreal police cells. Each of the police stations being used as homes are sheltering at least two families and many of them have been "cellblock housekeeping" since last May. (Canadian Press Dispatch)

A flare-up over choice of language marked yesterday afternoon's session of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Association meeting at the Royal York Hotel . . . Kelso Roberts . . . spoke a few seconds in French. He was shouted and booed down by a large knot of people at the back of the hall . . . Immediately afterward Robert Ryerson of Brantford rose to make his personal objection to anyone speaking French to Ontario Progressive-Conservatives. (Globe and Mail)

Perhaps the most expensive fur coat obtainable in Canada is Russian sable. There isn't one in Toronto, "but if we had it there isn't the slightest doubt we'd sell it," said one Yonge St. furrier. "We're selling plenty of fur coats from \$3,500 to \$10,000." (Toronto Globe and Mail)

Quebec, December 7.—(CP)—Provincial Labor Minister Antonio Barrette in an address here last night to a group of alumni of the Joliette Seminary said that at the International Labor Conference recently held in Paris "we noted that we had little to learn, but that we had things to say and we said them." He said he had noticed that Quebec Province was in the forefront in the domain of collective labor agreements and added that if Britain had applied the same policy in time she would not now have come to Socialism and Nationalization. (Montreal Gazette)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to Alfred Stiernotte, Vancouver, B.C. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

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World Government

Mr. Bevin is for it. Mr. King is for it. Mr. Bracken is for it. Practically everybody is for it except the Russians. Preachers, prophets, scientists, humanists, editors and columnists, radical politicians of all shades, conservative politicians of all shades, all have demonstrated with eloquence and passion that the atomic bomb has made the present United Nations Organization obsolete—in fact, as one of them has phrased it, modern man is obsolete—and that some form of world government must now be constructed which will represent the peoples of the world with their vital interest in peace, instead of the governments intent upon power politics. In particular a world authority must be set up which will control the atomic bomb and other such destructive instruments. At this point the chorus stops suddenly. When the enquirer asks how the world assembly is to be constituted, what is to be the basis of election to it (population, productive resources, national income, or what?), how much national sovereignty is to be transferred to it and how much reserved to the existing national states (the eternal problem of federalism), how it will finance itself (another headache of all federal systems), no answer is forthcoming. The embattled army of idealists will not commit itself to anything more than general principles, and so the field is left in possession of the realists who have guided us into all our present troubles.

All this talk of the last few months about world federation is so unhappily like all the talk of the last few years about full employment. There is not a politician or a political party or group in any of the Western countries who has not guaranteed full employment to trustful voters. And yet we all know that there is not an adult citizen who really expects full employment to be achieved in any of our western capitalist democracies. And thousands are learning once again, as we change over from a war to a peace economy, what unemployment means.

We are all agreed about the ideal of world government, as about that of full employment. But the practical question is how to get from here to there. In the international sphere the "here" is the Big Three meeting in Moscow and the U.N. General Assembly about to meet in London. And before we get much closer to the "there," the governments of the Big Three and of the smaller member-states of the U.N.O. will have to develop a much more genuine goodwill toward one another and a much greater willingness to trust one another than most of them have displayed of late. Which means that their peoples will have to develop this goodwill and this mutual trust.

What of the Night?

In China the situation seems distinctly to have improved during the past month, and China is the real danger spot of the world at present. The outburst of the egregious Hurley and his prompt disavowal by Secretary Byrnes in Washington have shown that the American Department of State is not quite so rigid a supporter of Chiang Kai-shek as was supposed. And the Russian authorities seem to be facilitating the entrance of Chiang's national forces into Manchuria. These two things taken together open up the

possibility of a genuine compromise in China. But in the Dutch East Indies no really satisfactory answer has been given to the question how British and Dutch imperialism propose to make a tolerable compromise with Indonesian nationalism. And in Iran, if the independence movement in the north is not a cloak for Russian imperialism, then the ways of imperialists must have changed overnight. In Europe an agreement on the proper settlement of the German question is still to be sought. The British are evidently becoming daily more worried because they fear that neither Russia nor the United States, not to mention France, cares much about a healthy Germany, while they themselves are only too conscious that a healthy Germany is necessary to a healthy Western Europe. And in the meantime Western Europe faces a winter of suffering and starvation. There are also the added problems of allied policy towards Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Japan, and many other parts of the world. The special correspondents all assure us that all these difficulties are more likely to be started on the way to a satisfactory solution through the present discussion in Moscow than seemed at all possible when the last conference of Foreign Ministers broke up in London. And while the correspondents don't really know what is being said in the private Moscow discussions, it is nice to see them all feeling more cheerful again.

Sessional Indemnity

How many disillusioned students of politics have assured us during the past few centuries that the politician is a shameless animal! And nothing much more shameless has happened in our recent Canadian politics than the increases in their sessional indemnities to which our representatives, elected and appointed, have just helped themselves. We fully share the sentiments which Angus MacInnis expressed in the House about this proceeding. And we are sorry that more of his fellow CCF'ers were not on his side.

It is quite true that an annual indemnity of \$4000 leaves the 245 members of the House and the 96 members of the Senate in financial difficulties during these years of heavy taxation; and it is also true that the increases will not make any appreciable hole in the government's finances. But several millions of their fellow citizens have been going through similar difficulties, most of them through worse difficulties. For the members to dip their hands into the national treasury at the present moment when unemployment is increasing daily and when the collective wisdom of the 245 and 96 public servants is doing nothing effective to remedy this situation, and to go on to justify this action by the pretence that this is done in order to increase the efficiency of the 245 and 96 public servants—well, for this sort of thing one cannot find any gentlemanly adjectives that are adequate.

True, Mr. King is able to quote a speech of his own, which everyone had forgotten, to prove that before the last election he was for the step. But to pretend that this speech, along with a few other well-buried references to the subject in election speeches which no voter took the trouble to read, gives a mandate to the present government and parliament for their action is the most nauseating kind of synthetic constitutionalism. And that Mr. King was not very comfortable in his apology is shown by the ridiculous

lengths to which he went in his oratory. He even dragged in his revered grandfather, whose sacrifices in the 1830's, so far as we could gather from the P.M.'s passionate periods, justify his grandson's colleagues in appropriating \$2000 worth of extra comfort per year in the 1940's!

Of course the public will grumble a little at this, and then forget about it. But just watch the extra efficiency of the 245 and 96 public servants during the next few years.

National Housing Emergency

While government stalls, money for housebuilding lies idle, and winter settles in, thousands of Canadian service men and their families go on seeking vainly for a roof, and thousands more crowd into quarters scarcely preferable to a slit trench.

A survey made by The Canadian Press reveals how appalling is the situation. In Montreal, countless families are "practically homeless"; Toronto has over 5,000 unfilled applications; in Peterborough and Kingston, 500 and 200 respectively seek homes; in Hamilton 800, in St. Catharines 300, in other central Ontario cities, 1500 to 2000 in all, are homeless. Winnipeg lists 900 unsatisfied applicants; Regina 600; in Edmonton 800 veterans about to enter university have nowhere to live. Halifax's 800 hopeless seekers, and Saint John's 900, increase with each returning shipload of service men. This was the situation on December 14. It will be worse, much worse, before it is better.

In view of all this, Hon. J. L. Ilsley's statement in the House on December 13 deserves attention. As reported in the *Toronto Telegram*, Mr. Ilsley said that municipal limited dividend corporations "might" be permitted to borrow from Ottawa 90% of the money used in house construction, but the government was "fighting shy of such arrangements" because there was "a general feeling that the Federal Government is fair game"; and anyway, municipalities were not properly set up to manage such things. The time might come "before very long" when that type of corporation would be approved. There was nothing in the Housing Act to prevent it.

Meanwhile, amendments to the Act have increased the amount that can be loaned or guaranteed by the Dominion from \$50,000,000 to \$275,000,000. Pressed as to how this money was to be used, Mr. Ilsley replied: "I am not prepared to make a statement as to just how we are going to use this money, or when we are going to use it." The amounts had been selected, he said, by the exercise of "judgment rather than estimating," and all he could say was that an attempt would be made to improve administration of the National Housing Act. He was reminded that of the \$50,000,000 originally appropriated, only \$1,500,000 had been used up to October 5. He replied: "After canvassing the material situation, we felt there would be enough material and labor to build 50,000 houses this year, and that is as far as we have gone." Life insurance company investments in housing would be (theoretically) \$125,000,000; another \$150,000,000 could be loaned on this account by the government.

"There must be some program back of these amounts that have been asked for," suggested a member. "Well," said Mr. Ilsley, "I cannot be definite about it at all."

Demands for social legislation used to be met with the cry, "Where will the money come from?" In this case, there seems to be no lack of money. But the government has left it to private enterprise to utilize the money, and private enterprise has fallen down. Builders say they can't get

materials or labor; but the production of bricks, lumber, cement and hardware has also been left to private enterprise, and it has fallen down there too. There is plenty of labor, if someone would only mobilize and apply it. Experience shows that emergencies cannot be met by simply providing the money and leaving the rest to private enterprise. This emergency is nationwide, and it is the national government's job to clear the bottlenecks, bring materials and labor together, and get things done. But our national government is not that kind of government.

Canada and Cartels

Canadian journals in general have maintained a conspiracy of silence about the very important report issued in Ottawa last October by the Commissioner who is empowered under the Combines Investigation Act to probe into all economic activities which operate to the restraint of trade. The report is entitled *Canada and International Cartels*, and we acknowledge shamefacedly that we have hitherto joined in the conspiracy of silence ourselves. The report can be obtained from the King's Printer for twenty-five cents. A briefer discussion of the same topic is contained in one of the pamphlets issued by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The pamphlet (price ten cents), *Canada and Cartels*, is written by Professor Vincent Bladen who was one of the experts helping Commissioner F. A. McGregor in his investigation. Both pamphlet and report are admirable productions, full of enlightening information which ought to be in the hands of every citizen. Professor Bladen organizes his material into an alphabetical jingle—A is for Aluminum, B is for Beryllium, C is for Carbides . . . U is for Uranium, W is for Wheat, Z is for Zinc. Cartels in different commodities may affect Canadians purely as importers, or they may be arrangements giving certain Canadian manufacturers a monopoly of the domestic market, or they may be arrangements participated in by Canadian exporters. In their totality they represent a new kind of private international government which has been growing up in our day and which by its restrictive policies impedes the full growth of prosperity. How this development is to be dealt with is another question. No one government can control these international operations. Mere prosecution of them may be too negative an action in a field where positive expansionist policies are needed. Mr. McGregor recommends further investigation and publicity by the Canadian government, and the setting up of an international office to deal with cartels, under the United Nations Social and Economic Council.

'Tis the Voice of the Banker

One Canadian editor makes a year-end practice of collecting pictorial calendars issued by commercial firms, and awarding the verbal palm of merit. For our part, we prefer the annual addresses of our Canadian bank presidents. True, they are as predictable as that half of the calendars which shows the days of the month; but there is a certain pleasure in seeing our expectations confirmed and in noting the ingenious variations in phraseology.

It was easy to foretell what the themes would be at the first postwar shareholders' meetings. Canada faces colossal postwar problems; Canada is tackling them manfully; conversion is really proceeding very well; the heart of our people is sound. There is unemployment, but that is inevitable.

table (even desirable — though the speakers tactfully refrained from saying so). Canada depends on exports; we must export more than ever; but we face a tough proposition in bankrupt Europe. We must lend these Europeans money to buy our goods; but not too much, for it must come out of taxes, and taxes are a terrible thing — especially for the wealthy. What we really need is the speedy removal of taxes and controls that hamper Private Enterprise. But we must watch production costs. It wouldn't do to raise wages (though it wouldn't hurt to lower them); that would mean higher prices. If it led to reduced profits, that timid beastie, Venture Capital, would retreat into its lair, and then where would we be? You can't eliminate the fine old crusted element of Risk from our economy and expect people to go on working. Ruinous social service costs are cramping Private Enterprise and keeping our people soft. More immigration would be nice — those vast, unpeopled wastes (and the possibility of our labor surplus dwindling away) are fearfully uneconomic.

Our top award goes, as usual, to President C. H. Carlisle of the Dominion Bank. He is much more forthright than his presidential brethren; no pussy-footing about *him*. It was Mr. Carlisle who told us flatly last year that we couldn't solve our problems unless we stopped pursuing those phantoms, freedom from want, from fear, from unemployment, from depressions, and ceased yearning for higher living standards and shorter working hours. This year, he is able to point with pardonable triumph to the non-fulfillment of such fantastic ideals. "It is difficult," he says, "to harmonize the conditions that now exist with the misleading prophecies and pledges made that following the war we would enter a new era of expanding economy and unlimited opportunities, freedom from want and fear, full employment, consumers' purchasing power, social services, etc." (War veterans, please note.) Indeed, one senses that for his part, Mr. Carlisle regards these things as actually undesirable. The proper course for us, he declares, is rigid economy, reduction of debt, expansion of trade, cessation of "industrial wars" (i.e., strikes), and no coddling. From his precarious post in the stormy board room, but full of indomitable spirit and quoting with fine gusto the very words of Mr. Churchill himself, he warns us that he has nothing to offer us but blood, toil, tears and sweat. "What we have been doing and are doing," he proclaims with commendable courage, "is really subsidizing idleness."

With this incontrovertible truth many people will agree; but not, we fear, in the sense in which Mr. Carlisle intended it. Nevertheless, courage should have its reward, and such selfless leadership undoubtedly merits an orchid — or something.

L'affaire Chisholm

So many Christmas parties have been cheered up this season by a fresh batch of jokes about Santa Claus, provided for them by the famous Chisholm speech, that perhaps we ought not to complain at this late date concerning the character of the attacks which have been aimed at a speech made by a trained scientist before a group of his fellow scientists. And doubtless some of his phrases were open to legitimate criticism from moral and religious philosophers who may claim to speak with as much authority as psychiatrists upon the problem of good and evil. But surely, after the long and successful struggle of science in the nineteenth century and earlier to assert its right to freedom of expression against attempts at repression by

organized religious bodies, there is something alarming today in this current revival of claims by religious spokesmen to exercise some sort of censorship over what scientists may say to the public. Surely this claim by Catholic papers in Quebec and by Dr. Bruce and such people in Toronto that their Christian conscience must be safeguarded against whatever they may construe as affronts coming from secular scientists is pure effrontery. In Canada there is a sinister significance in the fact that the bigotry of Quebec joins hands with the bigotry of Toronto in their desire to stamp upon Mr. Chisholm as a bad thing. As for Santa Claus, all the Chisholms in the world have not done so much to kill belief in him as is done every year by the vulgar commercial exploitation of the Christmas spirit.

American Trends

Since the death of President Roosevelt, and more particularly since V-J day, certain trends in American politics have become well enough defined to cause misgivings among all those who look to the United States for leadership along liberal and democratic lines. The trends were there during the Roosevelt regime, but the New Deal atmosphere was unfavorable to their development. President Truman's leadership has been too weak to restrain them, and a new era seems to be dawning in Washington.

In the working of political party machinery the mark of the new era is the break-up of the alliance which President Roosevelt maintained for so long under the flag of the Democratic party. It was really an American version of the Popular Front. The Roosevelt administration used its mastery of the Democratic party to line up together the reactionary southern Democrats, the big-city boss-controlled machines of the north with their mass urban vote, organized labor, the negroes and other minority groups, and the liberal intellectuals. President Truman is failing to hold this motley collection together, which means of course that their voting weight can no longer be used effectively to push progressive policies. The southern Democrats show signs



of breaking away to form an alliance with the bourbon Republicans (are there any other kinds of Republicans?) in Congress. The 79th Congress is now, in fact, dominated by a bloc of "Republocrats," and there is no operating liberal bloc in either House or Senate powerful enough to check their reactionary tendencies.

This trend gives emphasis once more to the need for a third party in the United States, a party based on the same kind of farmer-labor cooperation as produced the CCF in Canada. But American liberalism (with a small l) seems to be dogged by some inherent futility. We notice that the *New Republic* and the *Nation* are beginning to talk again of a third party which is to emerge in the next presidential election, in 1948. Some cynic once remarked that the Church is always against war in the period before a great war and in the period after a great war, but that it always somehow seems to be for war when the war is on. So one might say of the *N.R.-Nation* type of American liberal that they are always for a third party before presidential elections and after presidential elections, but that they always line up for one of the old parties when the election comes. And they never seem to learn anything from their experience.

The present result of this rightward reaction is that legislation on Unemployment Compensation, Full Employment, Health and various other important topics is stalled somewhere in Congress. And all the President's efforts to get action seem pathetically useless. Worse still, if he continues to think of himself as standing somewhere to the left of centre, he has alienated the C.I.O. by his actions on the General Motors strike; and organized labor is vociferously critical of his proposals for fact-finding commissions in industrial disputes. Meanwhile Congress strains at the leash in its eagerness to pass labor-baiting legislation.

All this is part of a general reaction to the right in American public opinion which contrasts strangely with the movement leftward among the peoples of Europe. There is a sinister parallel between the last post-war period and this one. The reforming activity of Wilson Progressivism came to a halt in 1917, and after the war it went into a deep eclipse. It would be insulting to compare Truman with Harding, or his advisers with the Ohio Gang who manipulated and eventually disgraced Harding. But still it remains true that the United States is once again returning to a "normalcy" that is strikingly reminiscent of the "normalcy" of the Harding-Coolidge era. Big Business is once again in control of things, and is impressing its ideology upon the whole community. The American people are once more about to entrust their destinies to big business leadership, confident that private enterprise can produce permanent prosperity. Whether they will plunge into an orgy of graft, high tariffs, stock jobbing and all the other unsavory phenomena that marked the 1920's, remains as yet to be seen. But the drive seems irresistible to remove all wartime controls; and business pressure groups are heading the country straight towards another uncontrolled inflation. Or, if this is putting it too strongly, it is at least clear that the O.P.A. is fighting a despairing rear-guard action.

In the making of general policy this means that Congress, lacking or rejecting a strong Presidential leadership, will plunge about wildly and blindly. For a complex community in our modern industrial age Congressional Government is now obsolete. The nation and the government must have such distinct leadership as can come only from the Presidential office. However rich the United States may be, its whole economy is too vulnerable for the American

people to be able to afford any more the leaderless chaos which occurs when the President abdicates, as in the Harding-Coolidge days, or when he is too weak to enforce his ideas, as today under President Truman. And when one looks at the successive Congresses which the American electorate have persisted in electing through the last fifteen years of depression and war, an impatient outsider is tempted to conclude that the American people are not yet adult enough to be fit for full self-government. Accident rather than fully conscious choice gave them a strong President in 1932, and accident has given them a weak one now. But democracy should not be dependent upon accidents like these.

The implications of this reactionary trend in domestic politics upon foreign policy are disquieting. The Republocrats stand for a policy of pure selfish nationalism, which is a mixture of the old isolationism with a new war-developed America First imperialism. Congressional committees have been running amuck in a wild endeavor to smear Roosevelt and to prove that the late President forced war unnecessarily upon his own people and upon the Japanese. The *New Republic* had a good phrase the other week about the Republican leaders getting "spot-light sunburn" in their efforts to focus publicity and stir up hysteria by their current campaign. Congress has come near to wrecking the work of UNRRA through its delays in voting the American share of the money necessary for relief operations in Europe and the East. Led by the army and the navy, there is a definite drive at Washington to turn the Pacific into an American lake with American bases strung out along its western and south-western shores. A United States which goes in for this sphere-of-influence policy in the Pacific cannot very well object if the Russians do the same thing in eastern Europe or the British along their "life-line." And everybody now understands why the American executive drove such a hard bargain with the British in their recent loan negotiations; anything more generous or reasonable wouldn't have had a chance when it came up for ratification in the Senate.

In this field of economic foreign policy the American trend is in the same direction as in the political and military field. The British are afraid of two things in American economic trends. First, the pressure to sell American goods in foreign markets, without opening American markets sufficiently to foreign products, will result in a destructive lack of balance in international trade for which no Bretton-Woods financial machinery of stabilization can compensate. And second, the American return to "free enterprise," without any governmental effort to ensure full employment at home by policies making for high domestic consumer demand, means that eventually American business will export its unemployment, and another world depression will ensue. The British would like to be able to insulate themselves against these results of American actions. Their present bitterness over the terms of the four billion dollar loan arises from the fact that they fear that now they will be no longer able to do so. The full implications of these opposite trends in British and American policy have recently been brilliantly analyzed by Mr. George Soule in his book, *America's Stake in Britain's Future* (Toronto, Macmillan \$3.50), which we highly recommend to Canadian readers. Mr. Soule evidently regards the British policies of state intervention for the purpose of stabilizing the economy and turning it in an expansionist direction as just the sort of thing that his fellow Americans should be doing at Washington. But for the moment they are proceeding in a directly opposite direction.

Japanese Canadians

Edith Fowke

► THE GOVERNMENT'S present position on the Japanese Canadian question was set forth by Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labor, on November 21, 1945. He announced that "There is a total of 10,347 involved in the voluntary requests made for repatriation. Of this number, 6,844 actually signed requests — the remainder are dependent children under sixteen years of age of those who signed. Those signing included 2,923 Japanese nationals, 1,461 naturalized Canadians, and 2,460 Canadian-born." Thus one-third of those facing deportation are children born in Canada, and three-quarters of them are Canadian citizens.

The Canadian Government has asked General MacArthur when he would be prepared to receive these "repatriates," and has been advised "that he is prepared to accept them whenever shipping arrangements can be completed for the transportation of these people to Japan." It has since been announced that the first 900 are to be sent in January, despite the fact that conditions in Japan are so bad that Kagawa has estimated that twelve million persons will die of starvation this winter.

Mr. Mitchell then set forth the attitude of the Government to those who have applied to revoke their "repatriation requests":

(1) "The government is of the opinion that, in general, all Japanese nationals who have requested repatriation should be repatriated because it is quite clear that their loyalty is to Japan rather than to Canada.

(2) "On the other hand, the government is of the opinion that where any Canadian citizen of the Japanese race who applied for repatriation has subsequently submitted in writing prior to the Japanese surrender on September 2, 1945, an application to cancel his repatriation request, such cancellation should be permitted.

(3) "It is also proposed to review those cases of Canadian-born persons of the Japanese race who may have applied, subsequently to the Japanese surrender, to revoke their request to be sent to Japan."

Most serious is the provision that all the Japanese nationals who have asked to be allowed to cancel their requests and remain in Canada are to be shipped to Japan against their will. As far as the Canadian-born Japanese are concerned, the agreement to review their cases is fairly satisfactory, provided a fair and impartial body does the reviewing. Naturalized Canadian citizens apparently are to be allowed to remain only if their applications were received before September 2. The shift from "any citizen of the Japanese race" in section (2) to "Canadian-born persons of the Japanese race" in section (3) is no accident.

One might wonder why the date of September 2 was chosen to divide the sheep from the goats. When the applications were signed last spring, it was quite apparent then that Japan's defeat was only a matter of months, and all but the formalities were over on August 6. No warning was given that those who did not get their applications in before the formal capitulation of Japan would be denied. There appears to be little logical reason for the ruling that those who applied on September 1 are loyal Canadians while those who applied on September 3 are disloyal. Perhaps the key lies in Mr. Mitchell's revelation that up to that

date "only a very insignificant number had applied to revoke their requests," while since that date applications "have reached us in considerable numbers."

Mr. Mitchell went to considerable pains to emphasize that "No coercion or force or any pressure of any nature was used. On the contrary, every precaution was taken to see that there could be no basis for a charge of coercion." And again: "Let me say, with all the emphasis at my command, that no coercion was exercised in the taking of requests for repatriation from persons of the Japanese race. I would not stand for it for one minute. Neither would the government nor the people; this is a free country. To support that contention I should like to refer to the fact that recently a thorough investigation was made by the International Red Cross with respect to this very matter. A charge was made by Japanese spokesmen that there had been intimidation, and the report of the commissioner is to this effect, that there could be no question whatsoever of intimidation and that the word had been used wrongly."

If by coercion and intimidation you mean putting a pistol to a man's head or compelling action by threat of physical violence, then no coercion or intimidation was used. But if by coercion and intimidation you mean threatening individuals with the loss of their livelihood, with imminent separation from their families, and with the danger of being considered disloyal, then coercion and intimidation were used. Mr. Mitchell may prefer to find another name for it, but by whatever name it is called the type of persuasion used was unworthy of a society that claims to be democratic.

Lest you should think this charge exaggerated, I submit the following quotations from sworn statements, copies of which are in the possession of the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians:

From Hope, B.C., one man writes:

"I am in the employment of the Princeton-Trail Saw Mills. At the time of signing, restrictions were made clear that if I did not sign I could not keep employment in British Columbia. My wife is in the New Denver Sanitarium and I could not go East and leave her in B.C. alone. I therefore had no alternative but to sign for 'repatriation'."

A young man writes:

"I was orphaned at birth and my grandfather, who is now eighty years of age, took care of me. My brother is physically unfit and my sister had to take care of the house, so I am the sole supporter. In order to remain with my grandfather and family who could not go East and to retain employment in Tashme, I had to sign for 'repatriation'."

A youth of 19 writes:

"My father was injured on December 2, 1944, and although he has been a resident of Canada for forty years and till then had never considered returning to Japan, since he was unable to move around he had no alternative but to sign. My mother was also unwell before the birth of my baby sister three months later. I being the oldest and sole supporter of the family had to remain to look after them. The Constable told us that if we wished to cancel our application we could write in to the commanding officer of the R.C.M.P. in Vancouver. Because of this I believed that as soon as my parents were well again I could cancel my application and go East."

Another man writes:

"I was willing to go East but my wife is confined in the New Denver Sanitarium and at that time I was told to go East and work on a farm. I have three small children with

no one to look after them. I refused to sign at first, but the Placement Officer threatened to cut me off the Department of Labor, Japanese Division, payroll and also refused to give me maintenance. With no other alternative I had to sign for repatriation."

So much for the "voluntary" nature of the "repatriation requests." Surely such letters are proof enough that the signing of the application forms no basis whatsoever for judging the loyalty or disloyalty of persons of Japanese origin. The repatriation survey did not indicate how many persons wished to go to Japan. It merely indicated how many persons found it impossible or extremely difficult to move East of the Rockies under the uncertain and restrictive conditions that faced them.

Furthermore, as indicated in the third letter, many did not regard the signing as a final and binding decision because they had been led to believe that at a later date they would be permitted to cancel their applications if they so desired. A petition signed on behalf of all the Lemon Creek Japanese who have requested repatriation states:

"The factor which really tipped the scales making us sign was this. On the day before we must make our decision, the Mounted Policeman in charge of the whole matter here called the Japanese Committee to his office where in the course of the interview he assured the members of the Committee that it would be quite easy for them to change their minds after the war if they did sign now. The Committee announced this assurance at the general meeting of the residents of this community. This was responsible for many not taking the matter seriously and so signing their names rather light-heartedly while in their hearts having no intention of going to Japan to live."

A similar petition from the Tashme Japanese Canadian Citizens Association states that they had not signed with any desire or intention of renouncing Canadian citizenship and assuming the status of citizens of Japan, and that "Had the choice been put to us in this way and the hope of cancellation been clearly absent, we would never have signed such declarations."

Perhaps the most deplorable part of the Government's program is its determination to deport all the Japanese nationals who signed the applications even though they may since have asked to cancel their requests. These Japanese nationals entered Canada legally, and many of them have lived here for forty years or longer. Some who came to Canada as children have been unable to become citizens because of the red tape surrounding the process of naturalization.

In a petition sent to the Prime Minister, the children of these nationals who signed repatriation forms "not because of any desire to go back to Japan but because of their failure to understand the manner in which they have been treated and the insecurity and fear which they have suffered," plead the cause of their parents eloquently. They say in part:

"Whereas our parents as a group have shown characteristics common to immigrant groups of other races: clannishness, lack of facility in the use of the English language, failure to appreciate the customs and habits of the Canadian people, and an anxiety to succeed in an economic sense, yet they have also sought consistently and continuously to have their children well educated after Canadian standards; they have appreciated highly the democratic way of life, and have urged upon their children the full assumption of the obligations of citizenship . . .

"And whereas we their children, being as we are their main hope of support for the future, and feeling strongly the natural ties of blood and affection, are faced with separation from them or exile from our native land, do hereby earnestly plead with you, the Prime Minister of Canada and the people of Canada, that these parents be permitted to remain with us if they so desire, that we all may become useful citizens and residents of this our country."

It is doubtful whether the Canadian government has the legal right to deport against their will legal residents of this country who have committed no crime and who have been guilty of no acts of disloyalty. Because of the pressure of public opinion and the opposition of the provincial premiers, the Government has dropped clause (g) of section 3, Emergency Powers Act, which would have given the governor-in-council power over "entry into Canada, exclusion and deportation and revocation of nationality." On Dec. 17, however, Mr. King announced that an order-in-council had been passed authorizing Mr. Mitchell to order the deportation of the Japanese in accordance with Government policy. Plans are being made to bring a test case before the courts to see whether the Government is within its legal rights in proceeding to deport these people. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that according to the Canadian Bar Association Review, a United Nations document setting forth the bases for judging war criminals lists as a war crime the deportation or persecution of any civilian population on racial grounds.

The whole fault does not lie with the Dominion Government. On January 1, 1946, the war officially ends, and the measures which were to be in effect for the duration will lapse. If the regulations affecting the Japanese Canadians are lifted, the Government will be faced with the problem of keeping the promises it made in P.C. 3213, April 21, 1942, that all persons of Japanese race moved to other provinces from British Columbia would be moved again at the close of the war. If the provinces insist on the fulfillment of that unwise promise, the Dominion Government's position will be extremely difficult. British Columbia strongly objects to readmitting those who have gone East and also to allowing those now in the relocation centres to return to the coastal area. Thus Prime Minister King's policy of settling the Japanese more or less evenly throughout Canada in such a way that they will "be able to pursue the settled lives to which they are entitled" is impossible without the co-operation of the provinces. So far Saskatchewan is the only province that has declared its willingness to accept its fair share of both citizens and nationals.

The task facing those who want justice for the Japanese Canadians is thus two-fold. They must bring pressure to bear on the Dominion Government to see that all persons who have requested cancellation of their repatriation applications, regardless of date, shall have their cases considered by an established civil court. Secondly, they must bring pressure to bear on the provincial governments to accept their responsibility for co-operating with the Dominion in a genuine resettlement program.

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Blueprint for the Redman

Hazel A. Robinson

► THE WORLD TODAY is alive to the refugee problem, to the vast difficulties involved in re-settling millions of misplaced persons, victims of war and aggression. Canada, too, is doing her part, and Canadians, notably hard-headed and soft-hearted, are anxious to help. Yet such is the paradox in our thinking that we are completely ignoring the same problem here in our own country.

We have, practically in our own backyards, 125,638 misplaced persons, a ragtaggy, tragic group whose needs cry out for speedy adjustment. I speak of our Canadian Indians, who have been forced to unparalleled levels of degradation and poverty. The sight of these wretched people is a denial of all our high-sounding pronouncements, our Atlantic charters, our San Francisco agreements. Spot them scurrying along our streets in cast-off clothing, gaunt, furtive, with illness and privation written all over their thin faces. Watch them trying to purchase some small article of clothing for their children, yet being unable to secure it because of a too meagre allowance. See them, slipping into cheap rooming houses in the wrong part of town on their infrequent visits to the city, sitting ignored and insulted in low-class restaurants. On their reservations conditions are hardly any better. Their homes, the best they can afford, are mere shacks against the weather. Their animals, pitiable, scrawny beasts, stand as dejected and hopeless as their owners, lacking good food or sufficient pasturage. Objects of polite aversion or blatant derision the Indians are mere hangers-on to the fringe of civilization.

The fault does not lie with any one person or group of persons. It is the age-old fact that a conquered people must suffer, although we may not wish to admit it, and Canada's Indians are a conquered people. The white man is the aggressor, and in the very nature of our settling and colonizing this land of ours, someone had to suffer. That someone was the Indian. The Indian is struggling under almost insurmountable obstacles. Race prejudice, for one. Indian nurses are not admitted to white hospitals, Indians, no matter how well educated, cannot mix with white people.

By nature too, the Indians are not capable of competing with our Western methods or adjusting their lives to our conditions. They are nomads, hunters, free-as-the-wind, incapable of the methodic, punctual steadiness which modern life demands. Today, even the best of the white race has to be on his toes to get and hold a job. Even with the finest education, with capabilities and potentialities of the best, many a white man cannot compete, cannot be assured of a living. What then of these folk, debarred from higher education, to whom the professions are closed, not by law, but by custom. Placed in a factory or cannery, forced to punch a time-clock, to achieve a certain amount of work in a specified period of time, their inbred nature recoils, they become confused, sullen to the point of stupidity, and are soon out of work. It is the insoluble problem of trying to force a square peg into a round hole; only for the Indians there seem to be no holes, either round or square. Their old way of life has been torn from them. They cannot pour themselves into our strict mold. And yet, they have a definite contribution to make to the life and progress of our country. In the few instances in which they have been put at work for which their nature and heritage has fitted them they have responded marvelously. Give their women the job of working and sewing skins, or weaving

native baskets or bead work and they turn out exquisite products. Their sewing is precise and beautiful, their merchandise, no matter how ordinary its purpose, is always superb in quality. Put the men to work as hunters, canoe-men, guides, and they are in their element, the top of their craft. Surely, somehow, these patient, careful artisans can find a place in our economy. You cannot dismiss 125,638 people as of no consequence, and their potentialities as of no value.

A great deal of the blame lies with men who are no longer living, the people who first formed the policies which have placed the Indians in their present deplorable state. Probably to those early pioneers the idea of putting the tribes on reservations seemed a good one. They reasoned, "put the same kind of people together in a certain locality, let them do as they wish, with a certain amount of benevolent control, and they should work out a good solution." However, it didn't work out. In most instances the reserves were pitiable exchanges for the rich hunting grounds the Indians had formerly known, gravelly, unarable land, unsuited for farming by anyone, white or Indian. It didn't work, because the benevolent controls turned out to be the usual government bureaucracy, redolent of purposeless restrictions and lacking the elasticity necessary to meet such a very personal human need. And finally, the lackadaisical nature of the Indian worked against the well-laid plans of the white man. His farming ventures were failures, his fur-raising efforts were extensive flops. Disease, against which any native race is powerless, ran rampant. Ignorance, dirt, and that worse evil, placid resignation, completed the pattern and made the reservations no more than benign concentration camps on which a race was to be confined until it became extinct.

The old folks have taken this turn of events stoically. They see no hope and expect none. They are the reactionaries of their race, with whom every nation and age has to deal, and with whom in most cases the only solution is death. Some of the old chiefs and counsellors, it is true, are far-sighted and wise, but most of them are unhappy, frustrated, heart-broken, dreaming of the glorious dead past. They regard themselves as a conquered race and expect no help from their foe.

But by a strange trick of fate, even the very limited education which we forced on their young people has made them conscious of their real capabilities, and dissatisfied with what they have and what we are doing for them. The religion which we insisted they substitute for their own has taught them that all men are brothers, even Indians and white men. Now, these younger men on the reservations are demanding a new deal for their people. They are asking that Indian schools be not of the lowest standard possible, fit only to teach half-civilized savages. They ask that the finest specialized teachers be assigned to their schools to give them the necessary extra help to bring their children's educational status up to that of their white neighbors. Likewise they are not content with hospitals in which to merely lie sick and wait for tuberculosis or trachoma to finish them off. They demand that the most highly trained specialists be assigned to them, that their hospital buildings be the newest and most modern, that the care of their sick be the finest. If anything, they need better services than other Canadians, for they have more to contend with.

These are only their just due. These are things they should not have to fight for. We should be anxious and willing to put them into effect. But the basic problem lies deeper than hospitals and schools and other palliative measures. It lies in somehow finding a basis for establishing

the Indian on a footing which will make him self-dependent, and an integral part of our society, not just a liability which will lessen with the years and with the final extinction of the race.

At the last session of Parliament a bill was introduced calling for a great new deal for Canada's Indians. It has many good features, but many weaknesses, some not so apparent as real. Before any definite steps are taken a long-range policy should be drafted, a sort of five-year plan, with the eventual total emancipation of the Indian race the objective. To this task the finest minds of the country should be assigned, to revamp the whole educational set-up, to eliminate the worse than slum conditions, to instruct, to help, to enlist the aid of the Indians themselves. Probably one of our most fatal errors was in assuming that we must "hand-out" to the Indians and let them sit idly by, waiting for our benevolence.

Whether the Reservation system should be scrapped is another problem with much to be said on both sides. Many of the older folk would feel hopelessly lost and adrift if now they should be turned off their farms and forced into the cities. They could not begin to make still another adjustment. For these it would seem that a revised and improved Reservation system, at least until their death, would be the humane solution. Many of the younger Indians are making heroic attempts at agriculture and are succeeding with varying success. Some indeed have developed very fine ranches, running a fair number of head of cattle, and making a conservative profit. Others, with the same opportunities are dismal failures. This is so in every race and nation, but perhaps not with such tragic results as among the Indians. Those who show themselves capable and anxious to continue on the land should be given more assistance. Agricultural experts should move out to the Reservations, live with the people, study their problems of soil, climate and moisture, while at the same time gaining an insight into the Indian mind and method of work. From their observations should come a comprehensive and adequate agricultural plan. It should involve the use of new farm machinery, the cost of which could be defrayed by the Government. It must comprehend the survey of the best soils available, and where necessary, the removal, at the expense of the Government, of homes and buildings from unsuitable areas to others. It should include the loan or preferably outright gift of purebred stock to improve the quality and thus the market value of Indian-owned cattle. It must envisage expert and impartial advice on marketing and kindred related subjects.

It would seem advisable to remove the young folks, and those who seem fitted and ready to tackle the big hurdle, from the stultifying atmosphere of the Reservations. But there is always the danger of their crowding into the wrong end of some town, and there setting up the abysmal slum-conditions which we associate with the foreign quarter of any city. Here it might be necessary to institute some long-range plan similar to our Veterans Housing Act. We should construct or help them construct modern homes in a suburban area. But having done that, we must not leave them to struggle along as best they can with newfangled plumbing and heating contrivances, and thus shortly, through lack of training, turn their property into foul-smelling junkyards. Here again fully qualified gardeners should help them plant their small truck-gardens for their own needs. Home economic experts could teach the young women how to furnish and arrange their homes, how to cook digestible and well-planned meals, how to supervise the diets of their youngsters. Qualified instructors could help the young men with their particular trades or interests. The schools and

every institution of learning must be opened to those who have the thirst for knowledge. It must be made unlawful anywhere in Canada for an Indian to be refused entrance to a seat of learning, simply because he is an Indian.

Above all, give them Canadian citizenship. It is a perverse irony that the first Canadians, the people upon whose land we are living and growing great, have no vote, no rights as human beings, no say in what happens to them. They were intelligent enough to fight in our armed forces and acquit themselves admirably — but apparently we cannot make use of their services as citizens. With citizenship, the right to vote, the freedom to express themselves, the responsibility which citizenship entails, the Indian will feel a new rebirth of pride in his land, and a sense of having to show that he can make good.

It is a fallacy to assume that the Indian is beyond the possibility of contributing to our Canadian life. The race that had evolved a knowledge of astronomy equal to that of Europeans when the first white man came, is capable of ventures into the realm of abstract thought. The people who had developed and practised a free and beautifully conceived democracy hundreds of years before even the idea was born amongst the suffering people of the Old World have other contributions to make to our democratic way of life. The minds that evolved the system of sending messages centuries before the telegraph was dreamed of can evoke modern miracles for the benefit of their own and the white race. The sensitive artistry and deft fingers of their artisans who produced unbelievably beautiful silver and gold work, jewel cutting, pottery, weaving and basketry are ready to give Canada a truly "native" handcraft. Up to the present they have been stunned and stultified by the tragedy which has engulfed their race. Now, with our "good neighbor" assistance, with tolerance, understanding and friendliness, we may yet help to restore, and even better, help this fine and courageous people to restore themselves to their proud heritage. Thus Indian and white man alike, can measure up to their full stature and responsibility as Canadians.

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The Socialist International

Robert Alexander

► IT IS TIME that positive action be taken toward the reconstruction of the Socialist International. Socialists the world over are presented with perhaps their last opportunity to lead the world down the paths of democratic collectivism, but there is grave danger that this opportunity will be lost unless a strong international organization can be formed which can serve as a rallying point for all of those who believe that only through the combination of social control over economic forces with democratic politics can the best in western civilization be saved.

The history of previous Socialist Internationals may, perhaps, shed a bit of light on what might be expected from a new organization. The First International, in which such figures as Marx, Bakunin and Mazzini took part, lived less than ten years and died as a result of internal dissension. The Second International, founded in 1889 and lasting until the First World War, included within its ranks most of the socialist parties then extant. Most of the countries of Europe were represented, and non-European affiliates included the U.S. Socialist Party (then a powerful and growing influence), and parties in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and other countries. It was primarily a deliberative and informational organization. There were periodical conferences of the International in Brussels, Frankfurt, Jena and other European cities at which the leading figures of the socialist movement met, discussed matters of policy and principle. Decisions were sometimes reached which the member parties considered more or less binding. Thus a decision was taken in 1904 against socialists entering coalition governments, and that decision was lived up to by the member parties until the outbreak of World War One. An attempt to build a binding anti-war policy for all the affiliated parties was not so successful. Although a resolution was passed in 1908 threatening a general strike upon the outbreak of war, actual organizational steps to bring this about were never taken, and the result was that in the war each national socialist party supported its government in the conflict, with a few exceptions.

The Second International floundered on the rock of war. However, as soon as the war was over, steps were taken to reconstitute the International Socialist Movement. Even during the war, several International Socialist Conferences were held, and the programs which they drew up were later adopted by President Wilson as the basis of his Fourteen Points—the actual basis of the 1918 Armistice. With the end of the war, the chief belligerent and neutral socialist parties met in Berne, Switzerland, and the Socialist International was reconstituted. This organization included the German, British, French, American and other socialist parties. On the other hand, the more radical but still non-communist parties formed the Vienna or Two-and-a-Half International, including the Austrian, German Independent Socialist, Italian, and other parties. Finally, in 1923 these two groups were reunited to form the Labor and Socialist International. This was mainly made up of European parties, though it did have U.S., Argentine, Palestine and some other extra-European affiliates.

In structure the L.S.I. was a good deal looser than the earlier organization. There was no attempt to make its decisions binding on individual parties, and in fact, for a good part of its existence there was an active group in the International which disagreed with many of its policies—

including the American S.P., the Polish Bund and others. The L.S.I. held conferences in 1929, 1931 and 1933, the last of which did a good deal toward uniting the workers of Europe against the menace of German Nazism. The main service which the L.S.I. performed was to give a means of consultation among the leaders of various socialist parties, and to provide an excellent information service on the activities of the various affiliates to the International. However, many socialists felt that the L.S.I. was not sufficiently well-knit, and did not meet often enough to be really effective. In fact, the secretary of the Labor and Socialist International since its beginning, Fritz Adler, resigned some months before the outbreak of the Second World War with the statement that he had urged the construction of a stronger organization and that, since that had not been done, he did not feel he could continue as secretary.

In direct contrast to the L.S.I. was the Communist International. It went to the extreme in the matter of centralization. In its early years the Comintern was really an International Party with national branches—subject to the will of the International. The central organization made decisions binding upon the national parties. Often it intervened in the affairs of the member parties, deciding between various factions in those parties—as in the case of the German Communist Party where, in 1923, the International threw out the majority Fischer-Maslow group and installed in power the minority Thaelman faction. In the American C.P. in 1929 the International intervened to unseat Jay Lovestone and his sizeable majority in favor of the faction headed by William Z. Foster, who then installed Earl Browder in Lovestone's place as party secretary. The Comintern often criticized policies of its affiliates and ordered changes. At times it even went so far as to throw out affiliates—as in the case of the Polish C.P. which was at one time accused of being "chauvinist."

Another important part of the Comintern's activities was its job of organizing C.P.'s in hitherto unorganized areas. Communist Parties in such places as Colombia, India, Indo-China, the British colonies were greatly stimulated with help from the outside, both in the matter of financial assistance and political advice and direction. Of course this discussion has left out of consideration the extent to which the Comintern was subject to Russian domination. The degree of Russian control grew with the passage of time. After 1929 it was uncontested. Actually, the extreme degree of centralization in the Communist International led to the stifling of all initiative and free thought not only in the International itself but in all of its individual affiliates.

In building a new Socialist International lessons should be drawn from the experiences of all the earlier organizations. Whereas the pre-1914 organization and the L.S.I. undoubtedly had too loose an organization to be really effective, the Comintern carried the principle of centralization to an illogical extreme. A new socialist group should try to achieve some compromise between the faults of its socialist predecessors on the one hand and the C.I. on the other.

In founding a new International there are three principal factors to be considered—what the principles of the new organization are to be, who is to join it, and what its functions are to be. In the first place, the new Socialist International should, it seems to this writer, be based on the following program:

1. The bringing under social ownership and control of all monopoly industries and of all basic heavy industries;

2. The use of the power of the state to so regulate the nation's economic life as to assure full employment;

3. The extension of social security to cover all the natural economic hazards of modern society;

4. Support of the workers' economic organizations' fight for better living and working conditions;

5. Support of political democracy, which means:

(a) Support of free elections, with the right of any and all political organizations and individuals independently to offer candidates and to vote (with perhaps temporary reservations with regard to Nazis, Fascists and collaborators of 1940-45);

(b) Opposition to witch-hunts against any group—Stalinist, Trotskyite or whatever;

(c) Support of rights of all citizens to free speech, free press and religion and freedom of organization—freedom for anyone to speak his opinions, establish a journal or publish a book, or to found an organization (with such slight reservations as are provided by libel laws and the right of the state to act against overt attempts at its violent overthrow);

6. Support of the movement toward a world organization powerful enough really to prevent war, and of all international organizations working to abolish the economic and social roots of war;

7. Opposition to all forms of discrimination in economic, political or social life based on one's race, color or creed;

8. Support of the movement to raise the standards of living of economically "backward" countries through diversification of agriculture and industrialization;

9. Support of movements for self-rule in colonial areas and opposition to imperialism, wherever practised.

These nine points sum up, it is believed, the best in the traditional socialist program, and sharply differentiate the democratic socialists from those totalitarian "socialist" groups which would subordinate the wills of all to the will of the ruling clique in a "vanguard" party.

With the end of the World War there are many parties the world over which could accept a program such as the one outlined above, and which should be in the new International. First of all there are the European socialist parties which divide themselves into two groups—those in Western European allied and neutral countries and those in Russian-dominated eastern Europe. There are socialist and labor parties in Great Britain, Eire, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Italy, Switzerland, Greece and the Spanish exile party. In several eastern European countries there still exist parties which might join this new International. Certainly, the revived Austrian Socialist organization should join. Likewise, the revived German Socialist party probably should be admitted. There is still a Czechoslovak Socialist Party and there are organizations functioning in Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland, and Hungary which perhaps might join. In the case of Poland it would probably be the best thing for the new International not to accept any affiliate immediately, but rather to send a delegation to that country to contact the socialist leaders on the spot and try to ascertain the exact state of affairs.

Outside the continent of Europe, there are a number of organizations which would belong to the new organization. There are socialist parties in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Panama, Cuba, Ecuador, and perhaps in one or two other Latin American countries. Then in the British Commonwealth, there are the Labor Parties of Australia and New Zealand, and the Canadian CCF. In India there is the Congress Socialist Party which certainly should belong

to any reconstituted Socialist International. In the British Colonial Empire there are several Socialist groups, as for example, the old L.S.I. affiliate the British Guiana Labor Union, the National People's Party of Jamaica, and some other groups in the British West Indies. In Ceylon there are several socialist groups which might be interested in the new organization, and of course in Palestine there is the very strong Jewish Socialist Movement.

The United States would perhaps present a problem for the new International, since there is probably no organization of sufficient importance to affiliate. However, that could be altered by the creation of some central organization of Socialist groups in the U.S., which could affiliate to the new group. In function the new International would want to stand somewhere between the rigid centralization of the Comintern and the distressingly weak federation of the L.S.I. The following are perhaps a few of the jobs which the new Socialist International would seek to carry out.

First of all, the new organization should try to afford constant means of communication and consultation among the world's socialist parties. The organization should have much more frequent general conferences than did either the L.S.I. or the C.I. (The C.I. met only three times between 1924 and its dissolution in 1943.) Perhaps the organization might meet every two years. And its executive organization should meet often enough to keep pretty close tab on affairs. The executive should, in addition, be sufficiently large to be representative of most of the principal parties in the organization and some of the minor ones. Financial means should be provided by the International so that members of its executive coming from less wealthy parties would be able to attend its sessions.

Next, the organization should issue periodically—perhaps monthly—a journal, in the principal languages concerned, which could serve both as a source of information about activities of affiliated organizations and a means for theoretical discussion of problems facing the International and its member groups. In this the new organization would have the experience of its predecessors to fall back upon, because both the pre-1914 organization and the two post-war groups had good international news reviews, containing information about and of interest to the affiliated parties. The new publication should be put out with an eye to getting wide circulation in all the countries concerned. In the past the Communists made some attempt at this, though the L.S.I. organ never had any kind of a circulation outside of certain interested libraries and individuals.

The second big task of the new International should be an organizational one. In the list of possible affiliates above, many countries are conspicuous by their absence. Brazil, for example, and China, the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines are a few which at the moment do not seem to have likely affiliates. Yet it is known that in some of these—China for instance—there are organizations sympathetic to democratic socialism. It should be the job of the new International to have a staff the members of which would go to China, survey the ground there, contact these sympathetic groups and perhaps bring unity to them and give them organizational aid and advice. Another field in which such activity by the new International would be fruitful is the British Colonial Empire. In West Africa, for instance, there are various nationalist groups which are socialistically inclined. These groups might be contacted and acquainted with the International, aid be brought to them by the International, and in time these nationalist groups might either become socialist parties or socialist parties might grow out of them.

The third job of the new International would be to attempt to bring closer unity of action among the socialist parties of the world. Attempts should be made to make socialist support or opposition to any cause mean more than just a manifesto. Perhaps closer liaison could be brought about between socialist members of various governments and some kind of unity of action agreed upon. At least, conferences of socialist government members for mutual exchange of ideas could be arranged frequently by the International. Joint socialist policy toward other international groups, particularly the Communists, could be discussed and agreed upon. Should the United Nations organization develop into a real World Parliament, the socialists might be expected to form a coherent bloc therein.

Thus drawing upon their experiences in the past, the socialist organizations of the world should join together to form a Socialist International. And, although the International would have to remain a purely voluntary organization, by means of close contact, consultation and agreement, genuine socialist unity and power in the world at large could gradually be developed.

Farmers Must Raise Sights

D. Suter

▶ "AGRICULTURE is Canada!" So declaimed a speaker on a recent Farm Forum broadcast. At the close of the broadcast the chairman raised the cry again, midst loud acclaim — doubtless with a view to the cry being taken up by farmers across Canada. Overstatements are the stock-in-trade of mere advocates and demagogues, in their quest for effect; one does not expect the chairman of an educational broadcast to lend aid to demagoguery and the breeding of misleading slogans.

It may be just a feeling on my part, but there does seem to be a deterioration of outlook among Farm Forum speakers, and an undercurrent of effort to resist urgent progressive thought and adjustment. Else, why the grand oratorical talk about the family farm being "a way of life"; about the family farm being factually "an ideal habitation and a true economic unit"; about "actual farm ownership by individuals being necessary for the existence of personal industry and thrift"? To top off, we hear that if the family farm were to go so, too, would that reservoir of human labor upon which capitalist industry feeds. What a calamity! Farmers, heed the warning! Look after your loaves and fishes, but by all means hang on to your family farm, or Canada will be sunk! What egotistical nonsense! What a picture to conjure up — the family farm a breeding ground for the raising of human material for industrial capitalism and its wars!

Agriculture is, of course, an indispensable part of total economy, which in its furthest reaches is world-wide. In turn, agriculture itself is broken down into parts, of which farming — tilling and cropping the land — is but one. An indispensable work, yes; but indispensability, while it gives importance, creates also responsibility to others, to people as remote as the tinker and the tailor. For, to repeat, agriculture, like any other industry, is part of total economy; a collective work, that should be collective in purpose and benefit. That the job is irrationally done comes from the persistent denial of the fact of collectivity — of people and their work. Acceptance of the fact of collectivity is fundamental to unity in peaceful purpose, to peace itself.

Just what the speakers mean by agriculture none said. But it became clear that they held the farmer to be agriculture; as though the fetching and carrying, the tooling of the industry, the scientific research and experimental work were merely attendant upon the farmers' work. True, the farmers' work is the more final, but that is nothing to cackle about.

This strutting attitude is not, of course, confined to farmers and their leaders, as they themselves well know when they are brought up against other like sectional interests — industrial, commercial, labor, and financial. For "I am Canada" is a role which these, too, play. "Where would Canada be but for me," they vociferate. "Therefore give me Canada, give me the world; it's my oyster. I'll take it." And in the fratricidal strife of each interest to take as much as it can, the world is laid waste and the freedoms, to which all men are heir, are scattered.

This is the sum of what is euphemistically called free (individual and corporate) enterprise — a kind of universal black market. For this purpose the fact of collectivity is discarded, and set in its place is the crude postulate that each and everybody's particular parcel of product, every bit of contributive work, has its price in the marketplace, which price can be ultimately collected from the consumer. This in spite of the weight of evidence to the contrary — the dire condition to which the striving to collect brings both producer and consumer. (Actually, this division is merely functional; producer and consumer are one.)

Everywhere the people, in their capacity as producers, organized and unorganized, cry out, "Prices do not pay." Everywhere, as consumers, they cry for adequate purchasing power. If people were deliberately intent upon keeping themselves to the meanest possible economic level, keeping themselves in a constant state of insecurity, they could not devise a more effective means than that which free enterprise affords.

There is and always has been urgent human need for plenty. What has been spoken of as abundance is not, we now know, abundance relative to need, but just local petty overflow relative only to money profit, which dams the flow of things already produced, already earned. It dams also further needed production; the fear of things becoming monetarily cheap holds the producer in deadly grip. For in a capitalistic economy the paramount question must be, "Shall I get my money back, plus money profit?" The individual is thus placed in a helpless condition. It's no use goading him with moral precepts; he can do nothing about it. The problem is social, collective.

Had the war been fought on a money-profit economy (at the international level, at least, it had the benefit of lend-lease) it could not have been won. So, too, with peace: it cannot be won on a free (unlicensed) money economy. In some way the people have to be brought to break with this money economy with its shortsighted and deceptive immediate gains, and tackle the business of collective work and responsibility.

The speakers on the farm broadcast do make passing reference to the farmer's interdependence, to his obligation to society, not only as to production but as to his responsibility for the care of the land with which he works. But this kind of sentimental moralizing abounds everywhere. The question is, what can and shall be done? Farm leaders and heads of farm organizations shed but little light on the matter; they spend most of their time making spectacular fights (or feints) against other organized interests, meanwhile becoming as they.

On a later broadcast Sir John Orr lifted the whole question to its proper level, that of collective human purpose. He told how the need of the people, of whom the farmer is one, had been cared for as never before through bringing together science, technology and human endeavor and putting them (collectively) to test. And it worked!

Of course, he well knew that this had been done during the stress of that unifying fear which accompanies war; but he urged that the way of (collective) unity of effort be pursued for peace. No, he did not use either the scare word collective or the hackneyed word co-operation; but he did plead for a clearer understanding of the issues by the people. For the final responsibility rests there. Personal responsibility is at once individual and collective. Collectively people reap what is sown. It is worse than futile to try to cast the blame upon leaders and governments. (It can avail Germany little to cry, "Hitler and his co-villains did it.")

There is no one better circumstanced than the farmer to break with an enslaving economic order. He has all the essentials at hand — actual possession of tools and land. In addition he has co-operatives (unfortunately more or less diluted with capitalism) in many fields; finally there are beginnings in the vexed area of credit. Union of credit unions, with their emphasis on human values, holds the solution there.

But that basic natural fear which unites people in time of war (and, for that matter, unites them to fight off any immediate and clearly *perceived* danger) is gone, now that the war is "over." Witness, the abrupt cessation of lend-lease; the equally abrupt break in the sharing of scientific discoveries (the atomic bomb); the chicanery and the effort, as opportunity affords, to seize individual and sectional advantage one from another. As though there were not a common, just mean to be found; as though of necessity there must be master and slave, caste and out-cast, and all the rest of the miserable fascist business.

It is not a matter of taking sides, theoretically or sentimentally. All that is easy, and it gets us nowhere. We need a clear perception of the fascist menace. Its outlook is backward always — back through capitalism to the very primitive. Civil freedom, peace, if it is to be had, must be brought in from ahead. It is not something lost; it has yet to be built. The cessation of war is not peace; it only affords time for the building of it. And it is as true now as when Roosevelt's words resounded across the world that peace is indivisible; the parts must be in harmony if the whole is to be realized.

Farm leaders and farmers need to raise their sights and extend their vision. Incidentally, how can we account for the fact that the farmer sees the need for co-operation in every business but farming? It seems to me to hold quite a bit of humbug, this "co-operation" to enhance prices of a thoroughly non-co-operative piece of work.



In Defense of Liberalism

Desmond Pacey

► IN HIS ARTICLE "Anatomy of the Liberal," published in the December issue of this magazine, Mr. Fergus Glenn seems to me to have accomplished the relatively easy task of setting up a straw-man and with great gusto knocking the stuffing out of him. He begins by stating that the chief characteristic of the liberal is his concern for liberty or freedom, proceeds to assert that the liberal's conception of liberty is the negative one of the right to be left alone, and attributes this in turn to the liberal's alleged fear of power. With this as a foundation, Mr. Glenn goes on to have a good deal of fun with his imaginary liberal. According to Mr. Glenn, the liberal distrusts the masses, believes that individual regeneration is the only means to progress, supports civil liberties but ignores economic injustice, upholds the law however faulty the law may be, is so abjectly terrified of violence and disorder that he will sanction the use of violence to suppress them, clings to the economic ideas of Adam Smith and the morality of Queen Victoria, is mystically attached to property and free competition, and in general is a silly ass and a nuisance.

All of which begs a great many questions.

First of all, what is a liberal? To say that he is a man passionately attached to the cause of liberty is, as Mr. Glenn rightly points out, not to say very much. An arch-criminal is passionately attached to freedom — his own freedom to kill, steal and otherwise run counter to all constituted authority. But when Mr. Glenn goes on to assert that the liberal holds a purely negative conception of freedom he seems to me to make the first of many false assumptions. The true liberal does not merely want the maximum amount of freedom for himself, he wants the maximum amount of freedom for others too, and is aware that to this end he must be willing to sacrifice a measure of his own freedom.

Nor is freedom an end in itself to the true liberal. The end for the liberal, as I conceive him, is the maximum development of all the good potentialities of the human race. In other words, he wants freedom *for* something, and not merely freedom *from* something — which to my mind is the clearest way of distinguishing between a positive and a negative conception of freedom.

It is in his belief in the possible progressive development of the human race that the liberal is distinguished from the conservative. The true conservative — Swift, for example — believes that no amount of experimentation can improve the human lot: he rejects the doctrine of progress. It is of the essence of the liberal creed, on the other hand, to accept every system — intellectual, economic, social, or political — as merely provisional and subject to more or less drastic modification in the light of increased knowledge or changed circumstances.

In this context is the liberal's distrust of power to be understood. He fears power not out of cowardice or timidity, but because power which is allowed to get sufficiently entrenched provides an almost immovable obstacle to change. Hence it is also that he defends minorities; for from them alone can come the new insights which will make clear the need of modifications in the status quo. Civil liberties, of course, must be defended for the same reason: the right to criticize the existing order is an obvious corollary of the belief that no order is perfect and final.

But the liberal, says Mr. Glenn, is terrified of the Masses. In a certain sense this is true—and, one is tempted to add, in the light of the Nazi movement and the popular following which Mr. Peron seems able to attract to himself in Argentina, thank God for it! This fear of the masses, however, does not arise out of snobbery, as Mr. Glenn suggests, nor out of a serene preoccupation with the liberal's own self-development. It springs rather from the realistic recognition that the masses are frequently misled by false leaders into the support of policies which run directly counter to the general welfare. Of course not all liberals take this view: many of them have an idealistic faith in the virtues of the common man, and I can well imagine Mr. Glenn in another mood attacking them precisely on this ground. The point is, I think, that an attitude toward the masses is not an essential part of the liberal creed. The basic creed is the belief in the potentialities of man; whether or not the individual liberal has faith in the virtues of man in the mass, or a distrust of mass movements and mass emotion, is a matter of individual temperament and choice.

The charge that the liberal is completely blind to economic servitude seems to me utterly without foundation. Believing in the total development of all human resources, the liberal is of necessity outraged by any system which reduces man to the status of an automaton, denies him the elementary requirements for a good life, or renders him so insecure economically that he has not the requisite peace of mind to pursue, singly or communally, his mental and spiritual development. The liberal, then, will constantly be on watch for economic abuses, and ready to support any alternative system which offers hope of amelioration. He will, however, retain his watchfulness even in relation to the new system and the means by which it is proposed to introduce it.

It follows from this that I am inclined to agree with Mr. Glenn that the liberal will always be something of a liability to a political party—in the short run. I suppose the ideal party member and worker is one who accepts the party platform as without question the final solution for all our ills. This of course the liberal cannot do. Because he regards the party platform only as a provisional and partial advance, he may not make a very impassioned speaker on the hustings. But even this does not necessarily follow. He may retain his sense of the imperfection of the platform, and yet be sufficiently impressed by its relative superiority to make a very persuasive electioneer. At any rate he is apt to be rather a nuisance in the party caucuses, for his insistence upon balanced statement will inevitably collide with the desire to coin election-winning slogans promising pie in the sky.

But in the long run the liberal will be an asset to any party. He will serve to remind the party of the end which it has set itself, for in the heat of political warfare there is always the danger of losing sight of the end in the concentration upon the immediate means of gaining power. His caution, too, will serve as a useful corrective to the impetuosity of the more hotheaded members—impetuosity, incidentally, which often have disastrous consequences of an immediate as well as of a long-term kind.

If there be some truth in the charge that the liberal is a liability to a political party, there seems to me to be almost none in Mr. Glenn's allegation that the liberal is always on the side of the Law, however faulty the law may be. It is true that the liberal is committed to the principle of public order, for only under orderly conditions can intelligent discussion take place. But a respect for order by no means implies a blind acceptance of existing laws,

and indeed liberals are usually the most determined opponents of inequitable laws. When the police force is used by one section of the population against another section, it is from the liberals that the strongest protests come. But it is really superfluous to answer Mr. Glenn here: his argument is self-contradictory. In one paragraph he states that the liberal is unwilling under any circumstances to fight fire with fire, violence with violence, and in the very next paragraph asserts that the liberals "would be prepared to resort to the most extreme violence against people contemplating violence." What irks Mr. Glenn, I assume, is that the liberals are not very enthusiastic about revolutions achieved by force—which is true; but he should be fair and admit that liberals are opposed to terroristic methods from any source.

As for the charge that the modern liberal "still clings nostalgically to the economic ideas of Adam Smith and the morality of the Good Queen," my answer is that the liberal, by virtue of his basic belief in the possible progressive development of man and human institutions, would be the least likely of all men to adhere to the laissez-faire system which has so obviously failed to meet the complex problems of a machine age, or to a system of morals which maintained itself by a steadfast refusal to recognize its own shortcomings. The liberal temper is critical, flexible, tentative, and thus the sworn foe of Victorian complacency whether in the field of economics or of morals. The basic flaw in this whole section of Mr. Glenn's argument is his assumption that what was liberalism once is liberalism today. He writes, for example, that the liberal "has a mystical-sentimental feeling about Property (the liberal revolutions were all in defense of property) and Free Competition." Now the essence of liberalism is its progressive quality: a liberal of a hundred years ago would seem an outright reactionary today. The whole front has shifted, and slogans such as Free Competition are to the modern liberal of purely historical interest. (Perhaps, in view of current revelations about the operation of cartels, that is an overstatement; but at most such questions are of secondary interest for the modern liberal.)

I propose to leave Mr. Glenn at this point, with the parting remark that I found his article delightfully provocative, and go on to suggest why liberalism seems to me particularly important at this moment of history. We live in a world where changes of such magnitude and rapidity are occurring that the mind can scarcely comprehend them. To cope with the problems of such a world no dogmas of the past or present are adequate. What is needed, if human civilization is to survive at all, is the eager, alert, adaptive play of mind, the readiness to experiment, to compromise, and to act provisionally which are the chief characteristics of the liberal temper. To approach the future with closed minds, whether the contents of the minds be old-line Toryism, orthodox socialism, or the Communist Manifesto, is the one thing above all others which we must shun. Certain fixed principles we must have—a respect for human personality, for example, and a faith in man's capacity to survive and develop by his own efforts and the grace of God—but apart from these no dogma can help but only hinder us. Far from being an outmoded nineteenth century survival, liberalism is the sole hope of the future.

(FERGUS GLENN writes: It seems to me, Mr. Pacey, in knocking the stuffing out of my straw-liberal, has set up another—a special kind of *ideal* liberal, doubtless created in his own image, and much easier to defend. There are of course liberals and liberals, and I did not intend to con-

demn them all. My thesis was that the *tendency* of contemporary liberalism, of the average person who calls himself a liberal and whom no one could possibly call either a tory or a communist — though he himself may sometimes think socialism "worth trying" — is toward an individualistic passivism that shrinks from positive collective methods of tackling our social and economic ills. After all, God is said to have created Man in his own image — and look at the average man today!)

Everything Points North

D. M. LeBourdais

► AT THE END of the last world war a young explorer returned after spending more than five years on his third expedition into the Canadian Arctic. Vilhjalmur Stefansson was enthusiastic about the great Northland. He predicted a great future for it. He was one of the first to realize the change in the world's orientation that would come from the developments he could see in aviation. He realized that when airplanes would fly regularly back and forth between the eastern and western hemispheres they would fly over Canada; and that this would shift the Canadian North from the outer edge of the world-as-it-was to the centre of the world-to-be.

Stefansson had learned something of the immense natural resources of the North; and he tried to awaken the interest of the Government and the Canadian people in their importance. He tried specifically to get the Government to undertake large-scale reindeer-raising on the tundras that comprise such a large part of the North. He tried to interest both Government and private individuals in the domestication of the musk ox, an animal native to the Far North that could provide meat, milk and wool; an animal, like the reindeer, that forages for itself both summer and winter on the Arctic prairies.

But, more than all else, he tried, through books, magazine articles and lectures to drive from people's minds the tenacious age-old myth about the terrors of the North. While admitting that northern winters were cold—but not colder than many places in the so-called temperate zone—he told of hot summers, lavish growth of grasses and flowers; and argued that despite its admitted drawbacks the North had advantages largely unrealized; and that, once the misconceptions concerning climate were cleared away, it could provide homes for millions of prosperous people. And in the intervening quarter-century he has been the North's most persistent and consistent advocate and interpreter.

During the war he was an official adviser of the United States War Department; and in this connection he wrote a 445-page handbook called *Arctic Manual* for the use of American troops in the northern theatres of war. The edition used by the troops did not show Stefansson as the author and reference to him in the text was in the third person. This led to an interesting incident. A copy of the *Manual* fell into the hands of one of the small coterie of persons who delight in belittling Stefansson. He was enthusiastic about it. Here was the sort of book about the North that people should read. His chagrin may be imagined when he learned that the book from cover to cover was Stefansson's. The Macmillan Company subsequently brought out a trade edition, identical in every way, except that Stefansson's name appears on the title page.

This is a book that most Canadians could read with profit. It may not often be necessary for many Canadians to build snow houses; but how to do so is worth knowing. The *Arctic Manual* contains photographs showing the process

step by step. If you are travelling over the frozen surface of a lake or stream and break through the ice in extremely cold weather what would you do to keep the water from soaking through to your skin and freezing you? The *Manual* advises you to roll immediately in the snow. The snow will act like blotting paper to draw the water outward. You might find yourself encased in an armor of ice; but it will be on the outside of your clothes and not in contact with your skin.

Precise directions are given concerning Arctic travel, on land and over ice. Landmarks are discussed and the need for memorizing the topography near camp. The reason for this is to make sure that it will be recognized when returning from a hunting or other expedition, since otherwise the camp might be by-passed in thick weather—sometimes even in good weather.

Stefansson devotes two pages to a discussion of how to behave when lost. Instructions are given concerning how to tell directions by various means, such as the prevailing winds and the position and shape of snowdrifts.

Differences in travelling procedure in summer as compared with winter are described; and the respective values of various kinds of boats are considered. Stefansson has a high regard for the Eskimo type of skin boat, as anyone who has read his other books will remember. The large boat, or umiak, which will carry as many as thirty men, he particularly recommends. Among its many advantages, in addition to its lightness, is the fact that when food runs out it can be eaten. Stefansson discusses the question of how to determine when a boat (or skin garment) should be sacrificed for food rather than continue to perform its original function.

Dogs, of course, figure prominently in the *Manual* and, as in his other writings, his love and respect for the dogs of the Arctic is quite evident. "If you are fond of house dogs," he writes, "you will like good northern dogs even more. They have the same loyalty; in addition they work for you uncomplainingly even when they are tired and hungry."

Naturally, descriptions of game animals and methods of hunting are discussed at length; and Stefansson goes fully into the results of his experiences in the Arctic and elsewhere while living on a straight meat diet. He discusses the preference of meat-eaters for the various kinds of animal foods and gives the reasons why certain cuts are preferable to others.

Stefansson's interest in the North is not confined merely to such matters as are discussed in *Arctic Manual*. The wider aspects of the new place which aviation has given the Arctic and its implications for the immediate and more remote future have been evident to him for a long time. These and other aspects are considered in a new book, *Compass of the World* (Macmillan), a symposium on political geography edited by Hans W. Seigert and Stefansson. The book contains articles by two dozen authors exclusive of the editors which cover such general topics as: The New World; Geography and Geopolitics; New Directions and Skyways; Reflections on the Heartland (the term first used by Sir Halford Mackinder shortly after World War I in enunciating his ideas on the then new subject of geopolitics); The Northern Course (Stefansson's particular views); Reflections on Asia (largely Owen Lattimore); and The Shifting Balance of Man Power. In effect, the book sets up a North American system of geopolitics.

To mention but a few of the articles, Isaiah Bowman writes on Geography vs. Geopolitics; Eugene Staley on The Myth of the Continents; Charles Hurd on World Airways; Sir Halford Mackinder on The Round World and the Winning of the Peace; Ellsworth Huntington on The Influence of Geography and Climate on History; Griffith Taylor on Canada's Role in Geopolitics; Wallace E. Pratt on Petroleum

in the North; Frank Lorimer on Population Movements in Imperial Russia and in the Soviet Union. Stefansson writes on The North American Arctic and on Arctic Supply Line, while one or two other articles, although over different signatures, obviously stem from Stefansson's ideas.

Naturally, with so many writers, the book varies somewhat in style and point of view. The fallacies of German geopolitics are conclusively shown; but it seems to have escaped the notice of the authors that they themselves may be suggesting a counter system of geopolitics that might very easily prove as dangerous to world peace as that to which they object. And although it is perhaps natural, since they wrote in the heat of wartime, that they should have placed unqualified emphasis on mere victory, it does seem strange, even this short time after "victory," that they should not have expressed more concern about the shape of the post-war world; for even then its portents were becoming plain.

It can, however, be said for Stefansson that he leaves the exposition of the new geopolitics to others and contents himself with a restatement of his well-known views on the North. Just how far he went along with his associates is a question; and it is more than likely that he was content that two dozen specialists should collaborate with him in reaffirming the dominant place which the North has now attained, even though some of the implications of their views were little less open to question than those they condemned.

It must have been a satisfaction to him, after being for so long a lone performer, at last to be conducting an orchestral symphony on his favorite theme, even though some of the players might be slightly off key.

Film Review

D. Mosdell

► At the end of an old year, or the beginning of a new one, the tidy-minded columnist feels the need of some kind of stock-taking; this urge to relate the parts to the whole, if any, often takes the form of naming over the ten best musicals of the past year, the six most useless documentaries, say, or the three saddest comedies. However, 1945 was not one of our better years. The industry accomplished very little technically, unless you count combining cartoons with live actors so that Donald Duck can now dance with Carmen Miranda; and the level of plots, acting, and relevance to ordinary living remained about the same, atomic age or no atomic age. In a more general sense, there do seem to be two developments, or one development and a personality, in the past year's progress which we can count as positive blessings, dispensing with the usual sort of dead reckoning.

The first is the appearance of some excellent material, apart from actual reviews, on movies and movie making. It is a curious fact that no really satisfactory books have been published on the movies themselves for some years. Leo Rosten's *Hollywood* does contain some useful information, it is true, but he is too much on the defensive, too close to the shadow of the publicity department to offer any kind of critical analysis. Parker Tyler's book, *Hollywood Hallucination*, is more provocative, certainly, but it reads stylistically so much like a message from a hashish dream that for all practical purposes it still awaits translation into English. By comparison, movie music has received far more literate consideration, particularly in the periodical *Modern Music*. Last year, however, James Farrell, who has done a good deal of writing for the films, published a book of literary criticism, *The League of Frightened*

Philistines, the last two chapters of which sketch in extremely lucid and commonsense terms the relation of the moving picture industry to American life economically and politically, as well as its effect on the culture of the nation. He talks at some length also about the artist as employee; the screen writer as a literary carpenter; the effects of the star system; and he remarks that any social problem, such as juvenile delinquency, is treated in the movies as a purely individualistic phenomenon, caused by pure accident, involving nobody at all, even the delinquents, in any responsibility whatever. The relation of box-office receipts to production he sums up by quoting Darryl Zanuck on the prestige pictures, *Wilson*, and *One World*: "Unless these two pictures are successful from every standpoint, I'll never make another film without Betty Grable again."

Much of what Farrell has to say will not surprise you; but its cumulative effect is remarkable. The second beautiful straw in the critical wind is an article by Wolcott Gibbs, the New Yorker reviewer, in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for November 17, 1945. Gibbs begins by saying that 90% of the Hollywood movies produced are so vulgar, witless and dull that it is preposterous to write about them in any periodical not intended to be read while chewing gum. In his opinion the only virtue of the Hollywood film is its photography, and so few reviewers know anything about its technique, that they are reduced to discussing either the quality of the acting or the total cost of the picture. He goes on to say that the movies exist in a social, moral and political vacuum, walled in by the censorship laws ("no worldling ever says anything which would surprise you essentially coming from your grandmother"), by commercial interests (no business is ever criticized, unless it is dope peddling or the white slave traffic), and by the collective adolescence of the average movie-goer. Indeed, according to Gibbs, the cinema resists rational criticism as successfully as a six-day bicycle race, or love.

Meanwhile within the industry which these critics condemn with such wit and bitterness, a new comedian, Danny Kaye, is chipping away at Hollywood pretension and absurdity with the chisel of burlesque. By some miracle, *Up in Arms*, his first starring picture, made over a year ago, is still playing at local houses, and I can think of no better way of starting the new year, cinematically speaking, than by running it to earth. Kaye has a kind of pulverizing energy, extremely well handled; he mimics Scotsmen, Irishmen, Carmen Miranda, and the M.G.M. lion; he has an extremely funny routine about what happens when we go to a movie and are forced to sit through yards of screen-credits ("produced by Manic, Directed by Depressive") and other irrelevances; he is the only sane man in the picture, but he is crazy, too; in short, if you have been wondering wistfully whatever became of the Marx brothers, see *Up in Arms*, and keep a sharp lookout for his new picture, *Wonder Man*. A word of warning, though: be sure not to confuse Danny Kaye with Sammy Kaye (of "Swing and Sway with Sammy Kaye"). Seeing a Sammy Kaye picture might easily put you off movies for 1946, and Farrell and Gibbs notwithstanding, that would be a pity.



Nothing Was Too Good for the Soldier

Samuel Roddan

► THE MOST DISILLUSIONED men in Canada today are the jobless veterans. Widespread anxiety and insecurity have multiplied individual rehabilitation into a social crisis. Not only are welfare agencies flooded with the problems of dislocated family relationships but warnings of possible violence are being recklessly noised about the country. The humiliating indignity of continued unemployment and lack of decent shelter has been a miserable pay-off for the veteran. The social implications now shaping up are not pleasant to contemplate.

Veteran re-establishment is particularly serious in British Columbia. At the moment in Vancouver there are over 5000 unemployed veterans. Scores of these are discharged service girls searching for office jobs whose plight in many cases is more dangerous than that of the veteran soldier's. Although there were roughly 80,000 enlistments from British Columbia, an additional 70,000 men have already signified their intention of taking their discharge in this province. This means that employment has to be found for 150,000 men and women from the fighting forces over and above the thousands who flocked to the coast from other parts of Canada and who are still drifting in at the rate of 300 officially reported arrivals per month.

Today in British Columbia there is no prospect of immediately increased employment to offset the rapid growth of labor. In fact, a shrinkage of available jobs has already set in because of the seasonal drop in activity of the logging camps and mines. During the winter months, then, unemployment will continue to accelerate in direct proportion to the number of discharges and new arrivals in the province.

British Columbia so far has been primarily an employer of unskilled labor in the logging and mining industries and it can only absorb the skills of the service man by developing secondary industries to process the raw materials it produces. Apart from one or two small industries which have announced plans for establishment as soon as materials can be released, secondary industry is effectively stifled while the big industries mark time and add to unemployment in the interval.

Major-General B. M. Hoffmeister, now a prominent official in the lumbering business, has described the unemployment as "a terribly serious problem." His solution is, that every business seek to absorb at least one veteran; that women in industry be replaced by veterans and that public works projects, such as ditch digging, be taken over by war workers and the veterans given a chance at some of the more cushy jobs. All credit to a great soldier, but such talk seems a little incongruous even to the veterans. It is not a question of squeezing the veterans in, or the displacement of women in industry, or even who shall do the ditch digging, but rather that veteran and civilian alike get a steady and secure job at the employment for which they are best suited.

Although British Columbia is the cockpit of unemployment, similar developments are springing up all across Canada. The Federal government, which has been urged for years to make plans for post-war reconstruction that would tie in with those of provinces and municipalities, has gone its solitary way. There are no visible signs as yet of a public works program of sufficient dimensions to

take up the present slack. On November 23, Mr. Howe blandly told Commons that no extensive public works projects would be needed in Canada for a year or perhaps two years. His argument evidently is that a public works program drawing off thousands of workers and much material would only delay the normal recovery and employment of private business.

The Royal Commission on Veterans' Qualifications has already pointed out facts which have been known for a long time. They have stated that Canada's plans for the re-establishment of veterans are too few in number and limited in scope to provide opportunity for more than a small proportion of veterans; that re-establishment is primarily the task of the Dominion government and that the undertaking of projects by the provincial and municipal public works departments is being delayed until the Dominion government states its definite policy of financing. Unfortunately, while the Royal Commission debates, and the federal and provincial bodies hesitate, the veterans continue to be left jobless and homeless.

There is no doubt that many veterans would gladly accept employment outside the big cities provided their families were assured of reasonable housing and other amenities in the communities which offered work. But it is a cruel imposition to force a veteran to leave his family and search for a job in the woods or mines. He has been separated long enough now from his family and home. Another barrack room type of existence is the last thing he wants.

An immediate and double-barreled solution to much of the present difficulty would be the construction of 200,000 homes across Canada. British Columbia alone is in desperate need of at least 25,000 of them. The only revolutionary aspect of such a suggestion is that it is common sense. Money is available in abundance, and what shortages do exist can be readily requisitioned once a few closed monopolies in lumbering and building supplies are broken. But like community centres, homes are deemed an unwise investment at the present time.

At the moment, then, it would seem that the government wants to put the veteran in the position of spending his gratuities and savings so that by spring he will be forced to accept any low wages or shanty-housing which private industry may see fit to provide. In the meantime he draws an unemployment benefit not much better than the old relief allowance and which is taken from his own Re-establishment Credit if he can not qualify for it within the necessary fifteen weeks.

The authorities in Vancouver are willing to give the veterans some extra consideration, however, for they have solemnly announced that all Christmas tree concessions on street corners are "strictly for veterans." This is much appreciated, for it will give those interested the necessary experience and training if they later wish to start up their own business in matches and shoe laces.

The predicament of those veterans now taking advantage of educational benefits is equally serious. Apart from the fact that many of them are being housed in trailers, basement suites and converted garages where it is almost impossible to carry on proper study, the inadequate benefits are forcing on them an intolerably low standard of living. A comparison of the average cost of living provided in official figures of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics with the benefits allowed veterans simply underlines their plight.

Recently a brief was prepared by the University of Saskatchewan Veterans' Association with the co-operation of the Veterans' Associations of other Canadian universities. It covered the complete cost of living of veterans attending

university and showed a consistent inadequacy across Canada.

In the case of the single veteran, for instance, whose benefit is \$60.00 per month, the average expenditure as revealed in the survey is \$90.90. Books, supplies for course, insurance premiums, street car fares and the incidental expenses of university life are a heavy and constant drain on the veteran's pocketbook which are simply not met by the benefit.

For married men without children, the discrepancy is even more serious. No figures of cost of living were readily available for those in this category but the difference between a two-child family and a one-child family (Family Income and Expenditure 1937-38) was secured, and this difference subtracted from the expenditure of a one-child family to give a figure for a family with no children. This was brought up to standard required under the cost of living index of November, 1944, and showed a monthly expenditure of \$129.28. The average expenditure as shown in the survey was \$123.89. The maintenance benefit is \$80.00.

The same shortages are found in a comparison with an average Canadian family of one child which spends \$135.43 per month. The average veteran's family of one child spends \$130.21 per month. The average benefit, including pensions if any, is \$92.00 per month.

The implications of this survey are obvious. The student veteran must have personal savings or other outside sources of income to attend university and if he has to live within the amounts of the maintenance benefits he is placed on a very low standard of living which for many is going to mean the abandonment, after a year or two, of their university career. The possibilities of employment and wages during the summer months do not provide an opportunity, particularly in the case of the married men, to save enough money to replace their depleted savings. This situation will become more acute following general demobilization when the surplus of labor will be mounting. The recent administrative regulation which allows the veteran to earn as high as \$75.00 a month over and above his allowance is of no real consequence to the great bulk of the veterans who cannot afford any time off from their studies.

The solution as recommended in the brief is that a basic rate of maintenance of \$80.00 per month be set for a single man; and that for a married man allowances be the same service rates as for a junior married officer: \$45.00 per month for his wife and \$12.00 for each of the first two children. This will bring the benefits approximately up to the standard costs of living for the average Canadian. If there is not a definite increase in the maintenance benefits, however, many students will find they can not continue, and they will lose not only their Re-establishment Credit but the money provided by the government will be a total loss.

The immediate future of the veteran is grim. Whether he is in university or unemployed he faces a hard winter, and he is not likely to be docile or subservient. A recent statement by Elmore Philpott hit the nail on the head. "Anybody is plain silly who imagines that those who survived the necessary hardships overseas are going to come back meekly to endure unnecessary hardships at home."

The veteran was promised the world, and has returned to find he cannot get a shack to live in. Before very long, the mere trickle of men out of employment is going to swell into a mighty flood. Already there are signs that business management is attempting to cash in on the situation by using the veteran to test the strength of organized labor.

We are faced then with a neat dilemma. During the unemployment which now faces us, do the veterans who have borne the brunt of the fighting go on relief and become the possible victims of reckless fascist leadership, or do some of the war workers go out, in which case organized labor is weakened?

A bulletin issued by the American Veterans' Committee under Charles G. Bolte provides an answer. "The conferring of particular rights on veterans with respect to jobs will not of itself provide jobs for veterans. Only if there are jobs for all is your job assured. Full employment is the prime goal for which we must fight, for without it the special benefits of today will become the breadlines of tomorrow."

Six Poems

Kay Smith

The Future as Some Dream of It

Their hearts never buoyant to go up like kites
into the airy reaches over the morning meadow,
ignore the rise of the blood in its gull flights
for the lifting arm of the steel crane below
heart's height and the ambition of the crow;
these are not guilty of wasting what is high
either within themselves or the prodigal sky.

Safeguarded in their minds the future cities
never go up in flames, are real as blueprints;
from cardboard hills gloved diplomats on skis
watch Eve idly nibbling at after-dinner mints;
on boughs of stylized apple tree the tints
of fruit ripening are polite to her eyes
as demurely they answer the serpent swooning in surprise.

Germination

What action underground has gone
to make the clear shape of the leaf;
the accurate and true speech of the flower,
wrought out of what deep darkness down the root;
waves of darkness washing over hunger for the light.
The worm crawled and the blind eye of the seed burrowed
when day flattered the world and water
gave back faithful reproductions to the looker
satisfied with shadows;
for the dreamer longing to burst the dream,
to stream out into the light of his own reality,
night must nourish and flourish in his length,
the lover must consecrate the fire
in the whole and perfect body of his death
before desire shall rise on strong sufficient wings,
over the sketch of itself in lonely lakes.

The Lovers

She was quicksilver in his hands
at best the print of a bird's foot in sand
or a feather or shoulderzone of a winghungry land;
birdbody caress was less
than the dream for the dream held
like a limpet held and the bird flown
(rain blurs the invitation of trees on the thumb-sized lawn).

Who can tell
whose was the gain
seeing the fine
asking shape of the mouth
or the full curve of satiety
among the hedges and leafy lofts of a private south?

But What of Those?

Happy are those who find their own salvation
in turning out the machine—those who build
the liquid dream into lime and mortar,
who, dedicated to waiting, catch the fish of silver
swimming the night pool in a net of morning words,
even those whose worldless ambition reaches clouds
in their metal birds—O fortunate ones—
though death swoop upon them
and the bullet is lodged in the throat
marked for the blue horizon.

But what of those whose blind energy feeds on itself
and never lessens,
whose instinct for form collects in the sky
and blows up into a sandstorm over their uniform desert
and the nomad life of their love
buries its eyes in their garments.

Substitution

Though we invite our world
into our house to explore
the hidden thing in the cellar,
that world is with us no more.

When the bottom step is reached;
the guests disappear,
unable to keep their feet,
and we're alone with our fear.

Though they were good fellows,
a something in the air
snaps the string joining
our heady hope to share.

That terrible private dilemma
underneath the skin!
Though Freud or the tortured poets
prove to be our kin,

yet when the moment comes,
we are alone with It,
and we grow or shrink so small
that our garments no longer fit.

Then what to do but wait
till the common sun blesses
a second-hand cause to hide
our particular nakedness.

On a Winter Night

Night over the city clinging lightly
to streaks of wires and dark mass of masonry,
in the sky a star points its leafgreen finger
setting for heart's rehearsal the spring mood;
though winter muzzles the world and muffles
steps on the pavement underneath cement
the earth sings:

birth is no opening of doors
on a sudden warm season
or death an opening of doors
to a cold moon,
but both the gradual closing,
the eye of the seed sleeping
in the dark womb,
then the slipping clear,
the slow and patient miracle,
into the cartwheels and lights,
into the long festival.

And suddenly one I knew
with fine hands to break sods for flowers,
becomes the contours of waters
moving with fluid limbs over stones,
bones, through channels and between
banks of April green.
Another who until this hour,
Was the living branch cut from my tree,
stands taller than my granite grief in me,
leans nearer than hands' touch,
while through the sun-striped tents of carnival
come dancers, changing their heavy bodies
into the hurdy-gurdy music, all tossing
the colored balloons of their hearts over the Big Top.

Capitalist

Man has so little time to live
His instinct is to get not give.
Woman, less conscious of mortality
(She knows her station
It's still creation)
Feels nothing final in finality.
Thus woman gives and thus man lends
With grim intent on dividends.

Anne Wilkinson.

Street Car at Night

Can that image so real
Be merely the sums of the angles
Of incidence and reflection
Superimposed upon the flittings
Back and forth
Of heads
And laughs . . .
. . . Two lines parallel to the same line
Are parallel to each other . . .
But the street-car lurches on
And as the soft dark vanishes,
The image fades in direct proportion
To the increasing glare of the street-lights,
The Smoke Buckingham and Smile . . .
The Truth.

John D. Grube.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

GAUNTLET TO OVERLORD: The Story of the Canadian Army; Ross Munro; Macmillan; pp. 477; \$3.00.

While the late war was in progress, it was virtually impossible to form a clear conception of how the Canadian forces fitted into the grand strategic plan and how they were accomplishing their purpose. As soon as fighting ended, we began to feel the need of some consecutive account of the Army's role and achievements.

That need has been brilliantly met by Ross Munro in his book *Gauntlet to Overlord*. (The title is somewhat misleading: Gauntlet is the code word for Spitsbergen, Overlord for the D-Day invasion of Europe; actually, Mr. Munro's book follows the Army from initial training in Britain to VE-Day.)

Reaching England in September, 1940, as war correspondent for The Canadian Press, Mr. Munro was, save for a brief visit home in 1945, continuously with the Canadian forces, watching them organize for the defence of Britain after Dunkirk, and then for the European invasion; accompanying the task force which occupied Spitsbergen; debarking with the 2nd Division on the bloody beaches of Dieppe; crossing to North Africa, and from there to Sicily and Italy with the First Corps; and returning to England for the opening of the Second Front. Landing with the 3rd Division in Normandy (he tells how, by a stroke of luck, he scored a "world beat" on that historic event), he stayed with the Army through the long and bloody series of struggles that took it across France, Belgium and Holland and over the Rhine. His narrative, therefore, has the graphic quality possible only to an eyewitness report of all the principal events.

To attempt, within a single volume, a rounded chronicle of training and operations extending over five years was a formidable undertaking. Yet Mr. Munro has done an amazingly competent job. The controlled intensity with which crucial engagements are described gives a dramatic impressiveness to the narrative, without bombast and without impeding the flow. The style throughout is clear, terse and vivid. One learns of the disposition of divisions, brigades and regiments, of the exploits of smaller units and of individuals, in all the important actions, while getting a comprehensive view of the Canadian Army's place and progress in the general scheme.

On controversial points Mr. Munro manages to be both revealing and temperate. Regarding Dieppe, after describing the preparations in early July, the cancellation because of bad weather, and the sudden decision in late August to proceed with the original scheme, he says: "For the first raid there was to be much heavier bombing, however, than the Canadians had supporting them on August 19th. General Roberts had to accept a compromise on even the original plan because of other R.A.F. commitments. The alternative was to have ships with heavy guns support the raiders from the sea, but here too the navy would not risk cruisers, monitors or battleships at that time off the French coast. So the Canadians had to go in with the meagre support of seven destroyers. That wasn't enough; not nearly enough." In the interval, the Germans had greatly strengthened the coast defences; but a later check showed that they were taken more nearly by complete surprise than had been thought at the time. Summing up, Mr. Munro says: "Without condoning any of the mistakes made at Dieppe, I'm convinced that if the raid had not been carried out as a prelude to the North African landings, the com-

bined operations in the Mediterranean and the Normandy invasion, these might have been so badly bungled that the war there could have been prolonged for years."

Paying a tribute to General McNaughton for his magnificent job in training the Canadians as an invasion force, and discussing the reasons for his retirement, Mr. Munro says: "There are many angles to the controversy which raged around General McNaughton, but I believe the fundamental reason for his retirement was the difficulty which arose between him and members of the Canadian Cabinet, particularly Defence Minister Ralston, over the question of splitting the Canadian Army," and concludes: "It will be for history to decide who was right."

Mr. Munro is no doubt conscious that, in attempting detailed accounts of particular operations before all the field records are available, he has risked the possibility of errors involving incidental injustice to specific units. If such have crept in, he should be forgiven, for his clear-cut and spirited narrative fills admirably the urgent need of the average Canadian for a general account of the Army's exploits; and even the average soldier will, we believe, find it informative.

We recall that it took twenty years to produce Volume I of *The Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-19*, covering the months from August, 1914, to September, 1915, only. This appeared in 1938, on the verge of World War II. For those of us who want to read, before we reach old age or die or are atomically dissolved somewhere around 1975, a clear account of the Canadian Army's role in World War II, Mr. Munro's gripping and enlightening book fills the bill more adequately than we had any right to expect, and he deserves our thanks.

Carlton McNaught.

ONE NATION: Wallace Stegner; Thomas Allen (Houghton Mifflin); pp. 340; \$4.75.

The world's No. 1 problem today is human relationships. Almost without our realizing what is afoot, we find that the great political, economic and military enterprises are wrecked or advanced by some type of human relationship at the round tables and hurried conferences of the world's leaders. Even more significant is the fact that these same leaders know that the human factor must now be the deciding one, and no contracts or treaties have hope of a long life if their terms are not in accord with the new orientation of human thought to man as the measure of value. This is not to say that powerful efforts are not afoot to re-establish the world in the same old grooves of non-human values, but it does indicate that there is a rising tide of new and articulate power everywhere in the world. No longer can national or international crises be settled arbitrarily in secret sessions when fundamental problems of human personality and well-being are at stake. Man himself is omnipresent today and stands, a dynamic figure, at the counsel table of every group of negotiators.

Consequently it is not surprising, but it is encouraging, to see the publication of a book such as *One Nation* which is an attempt to evaluate the problem of minorities in the United States by the measuring rod of the common denominators of humanity. The editor is Wallace Stegner, who provides the text, but the greater part of the book is made up of pictures taken by the photographers of *Look*, in more than a year's organized study of racial prejudice. *One Nation*, "indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," had forty million people who belong to persecuted minority groups out of a population of one hundred and twenty

millions—one third of the nation. The book grimly and visually reveals what happens to minority groups who are the victims of these persecutions. These forty millions constitute the lowest social and economic classes in both city and countryside, pushed back into slum conditions, ignorance, fear, ill-health and delinquency. The problem class of the nation has been created within the nation itself by unreasoning prejudice, oftentimes fostered by interested groups. Each persecuted minority tends to become segregated and ingrown, through pressures from without and defensive tendencies from within. Usually a persecuted minority takes on the prejudices against other persecuted minorities, so that the underprivileged are ground down into small segments, each helpless and unco-operative. "The effect of physical segregation," writes Stegner, "is generally to clamp a lid on the ambitions of the underprivileged, lock them into slum neighborhoods, and bring upon them, or prevent their escaping, the usual slum evils of disease, vice, crime, delinquency and ignorance. The very evils from which fearful white Americans attempt to protect themselves by building walls are fertilized within those walls. The minority tends to be permanently 'slum-locked' instead of gradually moving out to cleaner and better areas."

One of the unhappy but inevitable by-products of prejudice is that the minority group learns to think in group terms, and a Negro, a Jew, a Mexican or an Indian, or any other victim of discrimination, takes on the habit of thinking of himself always as a Negro, a Jew, a Mexican or an Indian, since he is excluded from the idea of being an American, or a Canadian, or whatever it may be. As Stegner says, if democracy means anything it means the right of the individual to dignity as an *individual*. Democracy is an attempt to escape from tribalism and move forward into planetism.

Much of what is said about the United States can be applied in Canada and when Steger writes that the possibilities for good or evil within the continental United States, are precisely the possibilities for good or evil in the post-war world, we must apply the thought to Canadian life. "No other nation," he says, "has had the opportunity the United States has had to bring so many people and cultures together into one society, to learn from all of them, to grow by the contributions all have made. It follows that no other nation, despite the tragic failures of our principles in many instances, has come so close to promoting a real brotherhood of man. Without our minority groups and the diverse strains of our culture, American society is a pale imitation of Europe. With them it is something newer and stronger." Every individual effort that is made to solve the racial and group minority problems on this continent is a contribution to the peace of the world, for, as Stegner says, if we cannot reconcile our superficial differences in a democratic society how can we ask reconciliation and co-operative world action from nations and races "whose blood burns with hatreds generations old"?

Blodwen Davies.

TURF SMOKE: John Coulter; Ryerson; pp. 187; \$2.00.

If you enjoy reading a book, and even re-reading it, it would seem a captious thing to pick flaws in it. There are some, and the realist will say "A natural for Hollywood." Well, if they do produce it and put Barry Fitzgerald in the lead as Barney Cahill (accent on the first syllable), I shall certainly want to see it. John Coulter has the all-too-rare gift of creating warm, living characters, and Barney is the most understandable person we have met in a long time in

this dreary modern world of facts, figures and bombs. Of New Yorkers he says, they "ran their lives like a deranged alarm-clock that can't stop whirring."

Barney would have agreed with Emily Dickenson who said: "Merely to live is so startling as to leave little time for other occupations." He inherited his bone-laziness from his father, the laziest man in Clogherbann. When compelled by the priest to mend the hole in the thatch through which rain had dripped on his reverence's umbrella, he had been much upset and wailed "Ah, Laziness, did ever I offend ye?" But Barney was presented with a ticket to America when he was twenty-five, and Father Nolan said "They say the air in that great country is a powerful cure for the bone-lazy."

It did not work, however, because Barney's laziness was a wise way of life to him. In New York he eventually became janitor of a large apartment house, and on the roof built as near a replica of the old home in Clogherbann as possible, including rabbits and chickens. His three children, as they grew older, helped him, and he spent happy days in his eyrie, philosophizing. "Folks, let yous sit down before you die, and give yourselves a chance to learn the great secret . . . The gr-eat sweet secret of laziness."

But when his idleness seemed about to destroy the happiness of his daughter, Tansy, and interfere with his two sons, he emerged masterfully for a brief interlude. His sister, Brigid, came out to America, and their meeting after many years is a delicate and lovely bit of writing, but he learns that Clogherbann is no longer the place to which he dreamed of returning.

"The place where the brown mountain burn flowed round and rabbits used to be sitting out was a different spot to look at now. Steamy mill water was running into the burn, and the meadow with the rabbits was all built over."

The deus ex machina is a radio talent scout. Barney broadcasts his homely philosophy to the world, achieves fame and a sufficient wealth to put his family on their feet. After which he firmly signs off, and his children find him sleeping, with a copy of Monk Gibbon's poem, "In Exile," at his side. Only a base Sassenach would scoff at his dreams of Clogherbann.

Eleanor McNaught.

FOOD FAMINE AND NUTRITIONAL DISEASES IN TRAVANCORE (1943-44); K. G. Sivaswamy and others; Servindia Kerala Relief Centre (July, 1945); pp. 265 (illustrated); five shillings.

In the autumn of 1944 the Servants of India Society sent 12 doctors (of whom one was an Englishwoman and one an officer of the Royal Indian Medical Corps) to Travancore to survey the famine condition in that princely state of Southern India. This unbelievably depressing volume is the result of their probing the lower depths.

In the taluk of Shertellay Dr. K. K. Chandy examined 500 families of all classes. Of these only 12 families ate 3 meals a day; 116 families ate 2 meals a day; 217 families ate 1 meal a day; 60 families ate once every 2 days; 85 families ate once every 3 days; 2 families ate every 4 days; and one family performed the extraordinary feat of living on one meal every 5 days. Dr. Chandy omits to tell us about the remaining 7 families; presumably they didn't eat while he was in town. This record of spare living is made additionally impressive by the fact that "in the great majority of cases an average meal consisted of half a pound of powdered tapioca boiled in water."

Dr. Phillip visited 10 houses in Shertellay in September, 1944, and she encountered 13 cases of anaemia, 1 of dropsy, 1 of rickets, and 1 of jaundice. She found the people complaining of "aching limbs, extreme weakness, loss of appetite (in the circumstances a very fortunate development), giddiness, headache, throbbing in the head, noises in the ears, and palpitation on exertion."

The foreword makes clear the causes of this suffering. The people own no land; they are ruthlessly exploited; nearly everything they produce has to be sold at the highest price in order to pay rent and interest. There was no adequate system of price control; no adequate system of rationing, no system of conserving food stocks or of protecting them from thieves and racketeers. Every action of the State was an instance of too little and too late. "Relief agencies were not only not encouraged by the State but were viewed with suspicion owing to a mistaken idea that non-official relief was a challenge to and an aspersion cast on the State."

The conclusion one comes to after reading this detailed account of human misery and futility is this: the problem of India is not one of the English vs. the Indians, but of a suffering and squalid people trying somehow to extract themselves from a backward, parasitic social and economic system. Perhaps the noises we hear in our ears nowadays are only the echoes of the noises of malnutrition and poverty. In any case this volume is must reading for the happiness boys in the Department of External Affairs.

H. S. F.

GYPES AND SWINDLES: William Trufant Foster; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 109; pp. 31; 15c.

If we are to judge by some of the radio programs of late and much of the material that has been written concerning the hazards facing the veteran in civilian life we are apt to infer that he must be one of the most naive and easily duped characters now walking our streets. This pamphlet however, does provide a neat and handy guide through some of the trickery and deception that lies in store for him if he is not extremely cautious. It is also a very nice little commentary on some of the practices of the democratic society for which he was risking his life. Most of the pamphlet is based on material assembled by various "Better Business Bureaus" and for one wishing a list of sources on the problem of economic illiteracy and business mal-practice this is well worth securing.

Samuel Roddan.



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THE RYERSON PRESS — TORONTO

THE UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA: Louise Ouwerkerk; Oxford; pp. 48; 30c.

This little pamphlet is a valuable introduction to the subject of untouchability and caste prejudice in India. Miss Ouwerkerk has lived and worked for a considerable time in India and she realizes and communicates to the reader the strength and tragedy of India's institutionalized class prejudices. But she also makes it plain that forces of change are at work in India and that the fight to end untouchability in India is becoming a part of the world-wide struggle against the forces of obscurantism and prejudice which deny the hope of human brotherhood.

The author has struck a tactful balance between those who play up untouchability as an irremovable obstacle to Indian political development and those who ignore deeply rooted, traditional, and *Indian* class prejudices which are somewhat more elaborately buttressed than our own class prejudices by religious myths and elaborate rationalizations. In putting the Government of India and the Christian churches at the head of the list of agencies working for the extinction of untouchability Miss Ouwerkerk is perhaps too tactful. In illustrating the work of the Government and the judiciary in this connection she has not been able to find any important examples later than 1865. This is significant and might prompt the reader to draw somewhat different conclusions more in line with the fifty-year-old government policy of capitulation to Indian obscurantism exemplified by the establishment of electoral divisions on racial and religious rather than normal democratic, egalitarian principles.

H. S. F.

THE AMERICAN DREAM

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